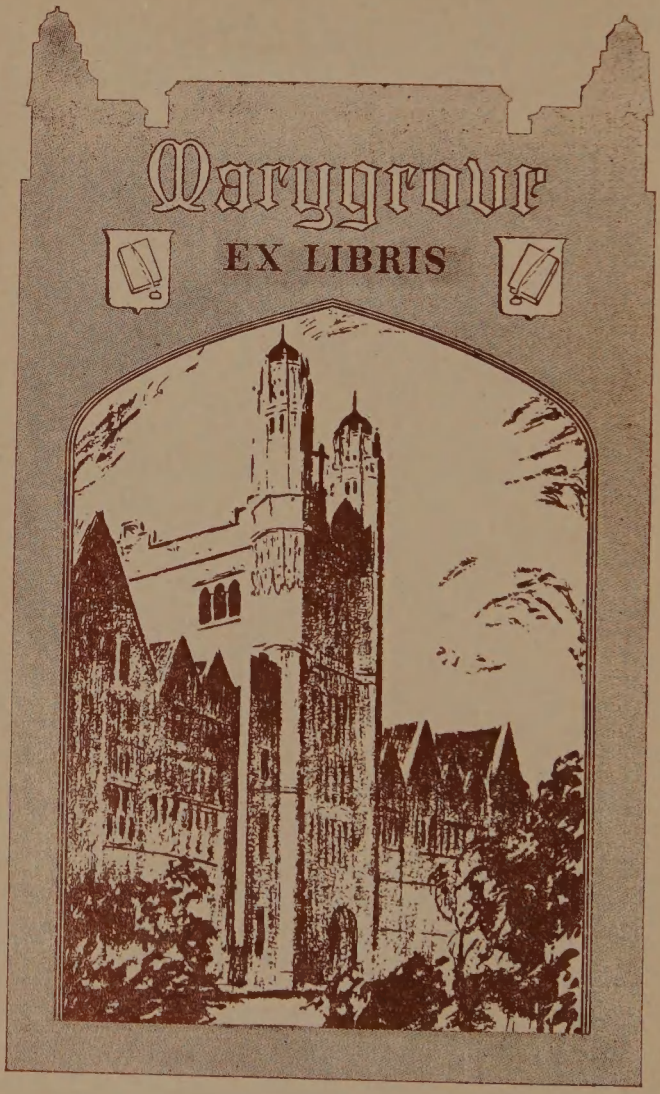
BOOKS ON EGYPT AND CHALDAEA

VOL. XII


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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD., beg to announce that they have still in stock a limited number of the larger edition of the hieroglyphic text and translation of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, with the hieroglyphic vocabulary by DR. WALLIS BUDGE, which appeared in three volumes under the title "CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY," late in 1897.

Price for the Entire Work, £2 10*s.*

VOLUME I. contains all the known Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, printed in hieroglyphic type (pp. 1—517), and a description of the papyri in the British Museum from which they have been edited, and a list of Chapters, etc. (pp. i.—xl.). This edition is the most complete which has hitherto been published.

VOLUME II. contains a full vocabulary (pp. 1—386) to all the hieroglyphic texts of the Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead and to the supplementary Chapters from the Saïte Recension which are given therewith in Volume I. The volume contains about 35,000 references.

VOLUME III. contains:—

Preface and list of Chapters (i.-xxxvi.).

1. INTRODUCTION (pp. xxxvii.-cciv.):—

Chap. I.—The History of the Book of the Dead. This Chapter is accompanied by eighteen plates which illustrate the palæography of the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead from the Vth Dynasty to the Roman Period.

Chap. II.—Osiris and the Resurrection.

„ III.—The Judgment of the Dead.

„ IV.—The Elysian Fields or Heaven. With extracts from the Pyramid Texts.

„ V.—The Magic of the Book of the Dead.

„ VI.—The Object and Contents of the Book of the Dead.

„ VII.—The Book of the Dead of Nesi-Khonsu, about B.C. 1000 (English translation).

„ VIII.—The Book of Breathings (English translation).

„ IX.—The Papyrus of Takhert-puru-ȧbt (English translation).

2. English Translation of the Book of the Dead (pp. 1—354). The volume also contains three scenes from the famous Papyrus of Ani representing the Judgment Scene, the Funeral Procession, and the Elysian Fields, which have been reproduced in full colours by Mr. W. Griggs, the eminent photo-lithographer.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

Vol. XII. OF THE SERIES

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

From the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B.C. 30

Vol. IV.

EGYPT AND HER ASIATIC EMPIRE.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In the year 1894 Dr. Wallis Budge prepared for Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. an elementary work on the Egyptian language, entitled "First Steps in Egyptian," and two years later the companion volume, "An Egyptian Reading Book," with transliterations of all the texts printed in it, and a full vocabulary. The success of these works proved that they had helped to satisfy a want long felt by students of the Egyptian language, and as a similar want existed among students of the languages written in the cuneiform character, Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum, prepared on the same lines as the two books mentioned above, an elementary work on the Assyrian and Babylonian languages ("First Steps in Assyrian"), which appeared in 1898. These works, however, dealt mainly with the philological branch of Egyptology and Assyriology, and it was impossible in the space allowed to explain much that needed explanation in the other branches of these subjects—that is to say, matters relating to the archæology, history, religion, etc., of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians. In answer to the numerous requests which have been made, a series of short, popular handbooks on the most important branches of Egyptology and Assyriology have been prepared, and it is hoped that these will serve as introductions to the larger works on these subjects. The present is the twelfth volume of the series, and the succeeding volumes will be published at short intervals, and at moderate prices.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

EGYPT

AND HER

ASIATIC EMPIRE

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LIT.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ILLUSTRATED

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PREFACE

THE period of Egyptian History treated in the present volume has been continued from the end of the reign of Thothmes II. to the end of the rule of the XVIIIth Dynasty, i.e., from about 1550 to 1400 B.C. This period, though comparatively short, is one of extreme interest, for in it the Egyptians succeeded in establishing their empire in Palestine and Syria, and extended their rule as far eastwards as the city of Nî, which cannot have been very far from the river Euphrates. In this period, moreover, are included the reigns of Thothmes III. and Åmen-ḥetep III., whose energy and ability raised Egypt to an exalted position among the civilized nations of the world, and made her feared by Nubians, Libyans, and the Semitic tribes of the Eastern Desert, and of Sinai, and of Western Asia. Thothmes III. consolidated the Egyptian power in Nubia and Syria, and Åmen-ḥetep III. administered the vast empire which his great ancestor had won by his sword. On the death of Åmen-ḥetep III. Egypt may be said to have extended from the Atbara river in the Eastern Sûdân to the city of Aleppo in Northern Syria. Hand in hand with the growth of power went increase in the wealth of Egypt, and the buildings which the greatest kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty set up in their capital, Thebes, testify to the lavishness with which they spent the money that had been given to them by Åmen-Rā, the king of the gods. The shrines of local gods which

had fallen into ruin were restored with a generous hand, and on a scale never before equalled and never surpassed. The endowments set apart for the maintenance of the sanctuary and priesthood of Åmen-Rā were on a hitherto unknown scale, and the power which the priests enjoyed in consequence was little inferior to that of the reigning family. Painters, sculptors, architects, and engineers found abundant employment in the capital in connection with the temples of the gods, and the granite obelisks, and colossal statues, and fine bas-reliefs prove their skill and ability. In short, the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty included the Golden Age of Egypt, and though the kings of the succeeding dynasties were more boastful than those of the XVIIIth Dynasty, their works and merits were far inferior to theirs.

The most interesting, though certainly not the most important of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was Åmen-ḥetep IV., the son of Åmen-ḥetep III. by the Mitannian princess Thi. This remarkable woman appears to have been as intelligent as she was beautiful, and the influence which she exerted on the mind of her son during his boyhood produced some very unexpected results. He seems to have imbibed a strong hatred of the religion and worship which were inculcated by the powerful priesthood of Åmen-Rā at Thebes, but whether this was the result of his mother's teaching or of his own wish is unknown. This hatred made itself apparent soon after his accession to the throne, and he lost no time in declaring himself to be a devout believer in the worship of that form of the Sun-

god which is now generally known as the heresy of the Disk. Among his titles he adopted that of high priest of Rā-Harmachis, but although he was tolerant of the worship of all the ancient forms of the Sun-god of Heliopolis he was very hostile to the cult of Åmen-Rā, the Sun-god of Thebes; he even went so far as to build a shrine in honour of Harmachis within the temple precincts at Thebes. At length an open rupture took place between the priests of Åmen and himself, and, as a result, he forsook the old capital and built himself a new one further to the north at a place near the modern Tell el-'Amarna. Here he founded a temple in honour of the Disk, and changed his name to Khu-en-Åten, i.e., Glory of the Disk, and gathered about him painters, sculptors, and handicraftsmen of every kind, who developed a new style of Egyptian art, which is characterized by great realism and freedom from conventionality. The king, his family, and his courtiers led a life of pleasure here for a few years, and he himself was perfectly content to neglect the affairs of his empire, provided he could play the part of a priest and bestow gifts upon his favourites. Meanwhile, the peoples who were subject to him in Asia were hard pressed by the Kheta and the allied nations, who had by this time become very powerful, and the tribute which had been paid for many years past by the great cities of Syria and Palestine to Egypt was now diverted from that country. The few governors of cities who were strong enough to remain loyal to Egypt sent numerous despatches to Åmen-ḥetep IV. to warn him of the growth of disaffection and revolt throughout

their territories, and asked that help might be speedily sent to enable them to maintain their authority and the interests of Egypt. But their appeals fell on deaf ears, and as no reinforcements came the possessions of Egypt in Western Asia fell, one after another, into the hands of the nomadic tribes who were strong enough to seize whatever territory they wished. A very strong light is thrown upon this phase of Egyptian history by the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets, from which we are able to trace the growth of the revolt from its beginning to the period when Egypt was compelled to abandon her Syrian dependencies. These letters are of such importance for Egyptian history that it has been thought well to give a tolerably complete summary of their contents; this will be found on pp. 184–241 of the present volume. The power of Egypt in Syria was much shaken during the regency of Ḥātshepset, but she at least maintained the old traditions of the country, and supported the national priesthood by every means in her power, and spared no pains to make her capital great and splendid. Her descendant Ámen-ḥetep IV., however, forsook his capital, reviled the national god, undermined as far as possible the power of the national priesthood, and, in addition to all this, succeeded in finally destroying the empire in Asia which the earlier Ámen-ḥetep and Thothmes kings had built up with such great expenditure of labour and blood, for Egypt never again was really mistress of that Asiatic empire as she had been in the days of Thothmes III.

E. A. Wallis Budge.

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EGYPT

AND HER

ASIATIC EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.

5.  Rā-Maāt-ka, son of the Sun, Ámen-khnemet-Ḥātshepset.



Usert-kau, the Horus name of Ḥātshepset.

Queen Ḥātshepset, the widow of Thothmes II., though unmentioned in the Egyptian King Lists, as much deserves to be commemorated among the great monarchs of Egypt as any king or queen who ever sat upon its throne during the XVIIIth Dynasty, and for this reason she is here included, and the great events of her rule are considered in separate paragraphs without reference to the narrative of the life and deeds of her nephew Thothmes III. The inscriptions which this great queen has left behind her show that she adopted the following series of

titles:—"Bestower of years, the Horus of gold, the "goddess of risings [like the Sun], the conqueror of all "lands, i.e., the world, beautiful goddess, lady of the "two lands, the vivifier of hearts, the mighty one of "*kau*, i.e., doubles," etc. One of her earliest titles was "Ȧmen khnemet-ḥāt," which means something like "the chief bride of Ȧmen," but later she called herself Ḥāt-shepset, i.e., "the first among the favourite "women," and still later, apparently being wearied of what seemed to her an unworthy title, she gave herself the name of Ḥāt-shepsu, i.e., "the first among the "great and honourable nobles of the kingdom."[1] Ḥātshepset was associated with her father Thothmes I. in the rule of the kingdom shortly before his death, and at this time she appears to have been unmarried; but there is reason for thinking that, before his death, the old king married her to her half-brother Thothmes II., foreseeing the trouble in the matter of succession which would inevitably arise unless he did so. Thothmes II. was of royal descent only on his father's side, but Ḥātshepset was of royal descent on her mother's side as well, a most important thing in such cases, and if she married her brother he would be able to succeed to the throne of Egypt without difficulty. As soon as Thothmes I. was dead, his daughter Ḥāt-shepset and his son Thothmes II. became the rulers of Egypt.

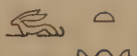
[1] This point was first made by M. Naville in *Recueil*, tom. xviii. p. 94; and see Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 238.



The Neter Ṭuat or high-priestess of Ȧmen-Rā, the king of the gods, Maāt-ka-Rā, or Ḥātshepset.

It has been generally supposed that Thothmes II. was a man who was strong neither physically nor mentally, and that he was unable to emulate the exploits of his ancestors and personally conduct the military expeditions which, we know, were carried out during his reign; this being so, much of the government of the country fell into his queen's hands, and it is pretty certain that, though Thothmes II. gained the credit for whatsoever was done, Ḥātshepset supplied the plan for it, and indicated the methods which were to be employed in carrying it out. The experience which she gained in the time of her father was of the greatest use to her, and her natural ability made her to profit by it to the utmost. After a comparatively short reign the king died, probably of the disease which has left so many marks on his body, and as Thothmes III., the son of her husband by another wife called Ȧset, was then a mere child, Ḥātshepset naturally undertook the rule of Egypt, and we are quite justified in saying that the interests of the country suffered in no way through being in her hands. As far as is known, no really great military expedition was undertaken by Ḥātshepset, and when she had made all arrangements for the succession of Thothmes III., and also for his marriage in future years with her own daughter, who also bore the name of Ḥātshepset, she undertook the development of the natural resources of the country, and spent a great deal of her energy and ability in planning the erection of buildings and

obelisks, and in watching the carrying out of her ideas.

The most important event in the reign of the queen was the famous expedition to Punt, which was planned and carried out under her guidance; the principal incidents of this expedition are depicted on the walls of her temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî, which building will be described later. We have already referred in several places to the friendly relations which always seem to have existed between the Egyptians and the people of Punt,  , and these were due partly to the fact that the entrance of the historical Egyptians into Egypt was connected with this country, and partly because the Egyptians obtained from it many of the gums and spices which were used in embalming the dead, and for making the incense which was burnt in the temples. The position of Punt has been much discussed, and many attempts have been made to fix an exact site for it, but, speaking generally, "Punt" seems to have been a name given by the Egyptians to a portion of the coast on each side of the southern part of the Red Sea, which they also called Ta-neter,  , the "Divine Land." These names may also, and most probably did, include a portion of Somaliland, which, in fine weather, the Egyptian sailors would have had no difficulty in reaching. In any case we know that the Egyptians went to Punt for gums and spices, and it is pretty certain that they went to that

part of it which in later days supplied the port of Adanê in Arabia Felix, *Ἀραβία ἐυδαίμων*, with similar articles of commerce.

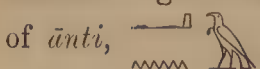
The expedition fitted out by Ḥātshepset consisted of five ships, and having made their way down the Red Sea, their captains seem to have sailed up some river on the African coast, and to have gone a considerable distance inland.[1] This is indicated by the fact that the huts of the natives are represented quite near the water, and it is more than probable that the place of barter or market would be situated inland. According to some writers[2] the market was situated some distance up the Elephant River, which runs between Râs al-Fîl and Cape Guardafui, where ebony trees grow in abundance, and where all the products which the Egyptians brought back from Punt are to be found. The men of Punt wore pointed beards, and were physically a fine, tall, well-made people; they lived side by side with black or dark-skinned men, who seem to have resembled some of the modern nations of Abyssinia. The captain of the expedition, having left his boat, marched with eight men armed with spears and bows, and advanced to the place where the gifts which were to be offered by him

[1] The most recent publication of the reliefs which illustrate the expedition to Punt are published by M. Naville; for these and his descriptions of them see his *Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, 3 parts, folio, London, 1896-1898.

[2] Maspero, *De Quelques Navigations* (*Bibl. Égyptologique*, tom viii. p. 75 ff.); Brugsch, *Egypt*, vol. i. p. 305.



The King and Queen of Punt and their Sons and Daughter bringing gifts of the produce of the land to the envoy of Ḥātshepset.

to the prince of Punt on behalf of Ḥātshepset were laid upon a table; these gifts consisted of an axe, a dagger, some necklaces, and some bracelets. He is met by the prince of Punt, who is called Parehu,  , and who is followed by his wife and by their two sons and daughter, and by an ass laden with a bale of goods, and by some menservants. The prince carries a boomerang, and wears a dagger in his belt, and his wife wears a single yellow garment; the lady's figure must have appeared strange to the Egyptian officer, but it is said that certain tribes of East Africa consider a figure of the kind beautiful, and that the young women spare no pains in attaining to such. The prince of Punt then asks the Egyptian officer Neḥsi how he managed to arrive in the country. "Have ye come through the sky, or did ye sail on the "the sea to the land of Ta-neter whereunto Rā hath "brought you? Behold, there is no road which is "stopped before the king of Egypt, and we live by the "breath which he giveth us." A suitable answer having been returned, the envoy and the prince proceed to business; the prince of Punt produces a large number of gold rings, and boomerangs, and a great pile of *ānti*,  , gum for incense, and whilst these things are being carried to his ships, the envoy Neḥsi entertains the prince and the nobles of Punt. In addition to these things, we are told that the Egyptian ships were loaded with *ānti* trees, ebony,  , *ḥebni*,



The loading of Ḥātshepset's ships in a harbour at Punt with the produce of Punt.

and ivory,  , and green gold,[1]  , of Amu, and precious woods, and incense, and eye-paint, and dog-headed apes,  , and monkeys,  , and panther (?) skins. Products of this kind come from the Sûdân, and must always have done so, and it is therefore clear that the place where the Egyptians went was a well-known market, wherefrom such things were usually exported. In due course the ships arrived at Thebes, where their crews were received with great joy. Of the valuable loads which they brought home, Ḥātshepset dedicated large offerings to Àmen-Rā, and some of the incense trees were planted by her orders in the garden attached to the temple of that god; Thoth, the scribe of the gods, is depicted in the act of writing a list of the myriads of things which were dedicated by the queen to the great god of Thebes. We have no means of knowing in what year the expedition was sent to Punt, but there is reason to believe that the event took place before the joint reign of Ḥātshepset and her nephew Thothmes III., and not many years after the death of her husband.

In the ninth year of her reign she gathered together her nobles and proclaimed before them all the great things which her father Àmen-Rā had suggested to her

[1] I.e., "pure gold"; compare the Ethiopic ሐመልማሌ : ወርቅ : "greenness of gold" in Psalm lxvii. 14 (English version, Psalm lxviii. 13).

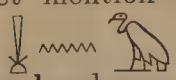
to do, and showed them how she had performed them all to his entire satisfaction. The journey to and from Punt probably occupied two years, or more, and thus it is clear that the expedition must have been despatched in the early years of her reign. In the relief[1] which represents the queen declaring what she has done, she appears in the form of a man, and she wears male attire; she is sometimes depicted as a boy, but she never appears in the form of a woman except when she personifies a goddess. When seated in a shrine she always wears the headdress of a god, and to her chin a beard is attached. In the inscriptions masculine pronouns and verbal forms are used in speaking of her, and masculine attributes are ascribed to her. The benefits which accrued to Egypt through the expedition to Punt must have been of a purely commercial character, and there is little doubt that the material profit must have been very considerable; the giraffes, leopards, cheetas, and apes would serve for no useful purpose in Egypt, but the gold and precious stones, to say nothing of the *ānti* gum, would form very valuable assets. We have already said that no great military expedition was undertaken during her reign, and we must therefore regard the statement that "all countries, "and all desert lands, and the Ḥa-nebu [come] to the "feet of this beautiful goddess, and all rational beings "praise her who is their life," rather as an evidence that none of the hereditary foes of Egypt disputed her

[1] Naville, *op. cit.*, Pt. 3, plate 85.

authority than that she really conquered them. Still, it is a remarkable fact that during the whole of her comparatively long reign the Egyptians enjoyed a period of peace in which trade prospered and the arts progressed.

Though renowned through her expedition to Punt, Ḥātshepset is more famous as the builder of the Temple of Dêr al-Baḥarî, the most beautiful and remarkable of all the funerary temples in Egypt. It was built by the great queen, partly according to plans which had been prepared during the reign of her father Thothmes I., and partly according to ideas of her own, to which a practical form was given by her distinguished architect Sen-Mut. Her object was to provide a place of burial for her father and herself, and those whom she loved, and a temple wherein on the appointed days offerings might be made to the double of herself and of her father. The site chosen was holy ground, for one of the kings of the XIth Dynasty had already built a temple there; this temple is now in ruins. The whole temple was enclosed by a wall, and was approached by means of an avenue of sphinxes which led to the pylon at the entrance, where stood two obelisks. The building consisted of three platforms or terraces, lower, middle, and upper, which rose one above the other, according to the rise of the hill on the side of which the whole temple was built. The middle and upper platforms were approached by flights of steps, and the end of each platform rested upon a portico or colonnade;

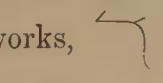
the wall which supports the upper platform was ornamented partly with a series of reliefs which illustrated the expedition to Punt, and partly with a series of texts and scenes which relate to the birth of Ḥātshepset, and her enthronement by Thothmes I. On the floor of the upper platform are built a series of chambers, and the central one extends backwards into the mountain, and ends in a corridor and chamber, which was probably the shrine, and which is hewn out of the mountain itself. The total length of the building itself was about 800 feet.

The temple which Ḥātshepset built with such pleasure, and on which she lavished such care, was doomed to suffer ill-treatment at the hands of many. Everywhere may be seen in it the erasures of her name by her nephew Thothmes III., who hated her with a deadly hatred; in many places may be seen the erasures of the name of the god Åmen which were made by order of the heretic king Åmenḥetep IV.; and Rameses II., who attempted to repair this damage, took the opportunity of adding his own cartouches to the inscriptions in the temple of the great queen. It is doubtful if the temple was ever finished, but enough of it remains to show that it was one of the most graceful and artistic of all the buildings of Egypt. In connection with the temple of Ḥātshepset mention must be made of her architect Sen-Mut,  , who was both a master of his art and her loyal servant. It is impossible to say with

whom the idea of hewing a temple wholly or in part out of the solid rock originated, but there is no doubt that it was the practical ability which he possessed that enabled her to carry out her artistic conceptions and designs, and it says a great deal for the insight into character and for the good sense of the ablest woman who ever sat upon the throne of Egypt, that she gave Sen-Mut the opportunity of building an edifice which has shed glory on the name both of the subject and of his great sovereign.

The late Dr. Lepsius published[1] the inscriptions which are found on a statue of Sen-Mut in the Berlin Museum, and from these we see that he held numbers of high offices in connection with the temple and estates of the god Åmen, and in the queen's household. On one shoulder of the statue are the words "not were found in writing ancestors,"  , words which have been supposed to indicate that Sen-Mut was a man of low birth and origin; but this is not necessarily their meaning, and they only imply that no account of his ancestors had been kept. As a matter of fact we know from his sepulchral stele that his mother was called Ḥāt-nefer,  , and his father Rā-mes,  . The queen, however, rewarded him well, for we see from the main inscription that he was an *erpā ḥā* prince, and a

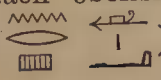
[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 25.

smer greatly "beloved, and the steward of the temple of "Åmen." Lower down he says, "I was a noble who "loved his lord (i.e., Ḥātshepset in her capacity as "king), and I entered into the favour of the lady of the "two lands. He magnified me before the two lands, "and he made me the upper door (i.e., entrance) of his "house, and the inspector of his lands like his . . . . "I was made chief of the chiefs, and the overseer of the "overseers of his works,  , and I "was in this land under his orders . . . . and I was "alive in the reign of the lady of the two lands, the "king of the South and North, Maāt-ka-Rā, living for "ever!" Sen-Mut seems to have been the "father of "the chief nurse of the royal daughter, the mistress of "the two lands, the divine wife Rā-neferu."

Among other works which Sen-Mut performed for the great queen must be mentioned the bringing of the "two great obelisks"[1] from the granite quarries of Aswân to Thebes, for it was certainly one of the most wonderful of all his achievements. They were set up at Karnak, behind the two obelisks of Thothmes I., and were dedicated by Ḥātshepset to the memory of her father Thothmes I.; one has fallen down, and only a portion of it still remains, but the other still stands, and is a true witness of the marvellous skill which was possessed by the engineers of the XVIIIth Dynasty

[1]  *texennui urui*; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 25 *q*.

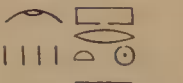
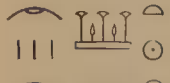
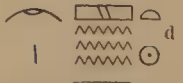
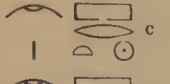
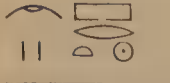
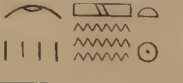
in the working of an intractable stone like granite. In connection with this statement it must be remembered that they had no elaborate mechanical appliances, and that all the means available to help them in moving such huge masses of stone consisted of ropes, wedges, levers, rollers, a knowledge of the use of the inclined plane, and human labour; they had neither cranes nor hydraulic jacks, and even if they were acquainted with the pulley it would help them little in the raising of an obelisk of granite. Originally there was a single vertical column of hieroglyphics running down each of the four sides of each obelisk, but afterwards scenes were added, in which Ḥātshepset and her father and brother are depicted in the act of making offerings to Åmen-Rā; the name of this god was erased, and often his figure also, by Åmen-ḥetep IV., the heretic king, but it was re-cut wherever possible by the early kings of the XIXth Dynasty. On each of the four sides of the base of the standing obelisk are eight lines of inscription, which record the queen's names and titles and declare her object in setting up the obelisks. She says, "She (i.e., herself) hath made monuments to her "father Åmen, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, "the dweller in the Apts, and she hath made for him "two great obelisks of granite of the south, and the "summit of each is covered with copper and gold, the "very best which can be obtained from the countries of "the world. They shall be seen from untold distances, "and they shall flood the two lands with their rays of

"light, and the Disk riseth up between them in the "morning, even as he riseth from the horizon of "heaven. I have done these things because of the "loving heart which I possess towards my father "Åmen. I have entered where he hath led, and I "have done my utmost to act according to his august "will, and from the very beginning I never hesitated to "do so. I make these things known unto those who "will come into being during the double *ḥen* period,[1] "whose minds will consider this monument which I "have made to my father, and whose words will form "questions concerning it when they have looked upon "it. I, as I sat in the palace, remembered who it was "that made me, and my heart was moved to make for "him two obelisks with copper and gold [on their "summits], which should tower up among the pillars "in this venerable hall which stands between the two "great pylons of the king, the mighty bull, the king of "the South and North, Āa-kheper-ka-Rā (Thothmes "I.), and should pierce the sky. I have [dedicated] "these two great obelisks, which have been worked "with copper and gold, to [my] father Åmen with the "desire that my name should abide permanently in this "temple, and endure there for ever and for ever. "Each obelisk is a monolith (literally, 'stone one,' " ), and has in it neither join nor division.

1  *ḥenti*, literally, two periods of 60 years, i.e., 120 years.

"My Majesty began to work on them on the first day "of the second month of the season Pert, of the fifteenth "year of my reign, and continued so to do until the "last day of the fourth month of the season of Shemut, "in the sixteenth year of my reign, that is to say, the "work lasted seven months[1] from the time when it "was begun in the mountain" [at Aswân]. The height of the obelisk of Ḥātshepset now standing is about ninety-eight feet, and it has been estimated to weigh over 3650 tons; these figures will give an idea of the vast amount of skill and practice required to cut

[1] The following is the Egyptian calendar: —

	MONTH.		MONTH.
	= Thoth.[b]		= Phamenoth.
	= Paopi.		= Pharmuthi.
	= Hathor.		= Pakhôn.
	= Khoiak.		= Paôni.
	= Tôbi.		= Epêp.
	= Mekhir.		= Mesôre.[e]

[a] Season of sowing.

[b] The month of Thoth began on August 29.

[c] Season of growing.

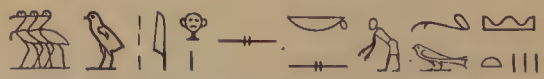
[d] Season of harvest and inundation.

[e] The year consisted of 12 months, each containing 30 days, and of 5 epagomenal days.

the blocks out of their beds in the quarry, and to float them down the river, and to set them up without break or injury; and when we remember that the quarrying, and transport, and erection, and inscribing were all done in seven months the matter savours of the marvellous.

To carry on her great building operations Ḥātshepset found it necessary to work the old quarries in Egypt, and the inscriptions in the Wâdî Maghâra and elsewhere in the Sinaitic Peninsula prove that the old mines there also were re-opened, and, judging from the queen's well attested practical ability, they were profitably worked under competent superintendence. The ruins of buildings in many parts of Egypt contain the name of Ḥātshepset, and there is no doubt that the restorations which she carried out were both many in number and considerable in extent, but the fragmentary inscriptions which are found upon them teach us little. Of special interest, however, is the remarkable little temple which she built in honour of the goddess Pakht near the modern Arab village of Beni Ḥasan in Upper Egypt; the Greeks called it "Speos Artemidos," and the name by which it is known to the Arabs is "Ṣṭabl 'Antar," i.e., the "Stable of 'Antar," a famous Arab hero who was endowed with all the strength, beauty, and ability which it is possible for mortal man to possess. In this temple M. Golénischeff copied in 1881 an inscription which throws considerable light upon the building policy of Ḥātshepset, and shows

that she restored the shrines of many gods and goddesses, and re-established their worship in them, and it seems as if she presented them with images made of gold and copper,  . She claims that "my will made foreign lands to submit,"[1] and that the foreign peoples Rushau,  , and Iuu,  , "did not hide themselves from before her Majesty." She cleared out and rebuilt the temple of the goddess Hathor of Cusae,  , whose shrine had become completely buried under the ruins of the building, and whose hall had become a play-ground for the children,[2] who danced about in it, and she repaired the shrines of the Khemenniu gods  , and of Khnemu, and Ḥeqet, and Renenet, and Meskhenet, and Nehemāuai, and Neḥebkau. Most interesting of all, however, is the passage in which the queen says, "Hearken unto me then, O ye "people, whosoever ye may be: I have done these "things with a humble and a lowly heart. I have "made to flourish again that which was in ruins, and I "have raised up the buildings which were begun in olden "time, for there were the Āamu,  , in "hordes in the middle of the country of the north and

[1] 

[2] 

"in Avaris,  , and hordes of foreigners,
"  , of their peoples over-
"threw the buildings, and they reigned having no
"knowledge whatsoever of the god Rā."[1] In the Āamu who are mentioned here we have a plain reference to the Semitic hordes who are commonly called Hyksos, and the allusions to the destruction of buildings which they wrought, and to their city Avaris, make it quite certain that Ḥātshepset is speaking of the older period of the occupation of the country when they destroyed the temples of the gods, and knew nothing about the god Rā and his worship. The inscription is of great value, as showing that the queen was wishful to care for the shrines of the old goddesses as well as for the comparatively new god Ámen-Rā, the king of the gods.

It has already been mentioned that one of Ḥātshepset's titles was "Khnemet Ámen," i.e., "she who is closely related to Ámen," and we know that it was a title of very rare occurrence, and in the case of Ḥātshepset it was believed to have a very special signification, for she thought that she was the offspring of the god Ámen, and bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. On the northern wall of the middle colonnade[2] of her temple at Dêr al-Baharî, which she called  "Tcheser-Tcheser,"

[1] See the paper and text by Golénischeff in *Recueil*, tom. iii. pp. 1—3; tom. vi. p. 20.

[2] Naville, *op. cit.*, pt. 11, pl. 46 ff.

i.e., the "Holy of Holies" [of Àmen] are a number of scenes which are very important as showing the views which the queen held as to her origin. The god Àmen one day summoned the twelve great gods of Egypt to him, i.e., Menthu, Temu, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Set, Horus, and Hathor, and told them that a great princess was to be born, and asked them to take her under their protection and to make her rich and prosperous, for, said he, "I am going to unite in "peace for her the two lands, and I am going to give "her all lands." The gods, of course, agreed to do what Àmen asked them. This having been arranged, Thoth, the spirit of the creator, led the god Àmen into the place where was queen Àāḥmes, who became the mother of Ḥātshepset, and he caused Àmen to make her to inhale the breath of life. Next Àmen took upon himself the form of Thothmes I., the husband of queen Àāḥmes, and entered into a chamber and took his seat opposite to her; with his right hand he presented to her the symbol of "life," ☥, and with his left he held to her nostrils another symbol of "life," wherefrom she inhaled the breath and attribute of "life." The god and the queen sat upon a seat which was supported by the goddesses Neith and Selq; these goddesses sat upon a couch, the tops of the four legs of which were made in the form of the heads of lions. The queen received the caresses of the god with joy, and she inhaled from him the breath of life, and as Àmen was about to leave her he announced to her that she would give birth to a

daughter who would be his own child, and who would reign over the two lands of Egypt, and would become the sovereign of the whole world.

When the god left the queen he sent for Khnemu, the god who is said to have assisted in performing the behests of Thoth which resulted in the creation of the world, and to have fashioned the first man upon a potter's wheel, and asked him to fashion for him the body of his daughter, who was about to be born into this world of queen Ȧāḥmes. In answer to Ȧmen's request Khnemu replied, "I will "fashion the body of thy daughter for thee, and her "appearance shall be more glorious than that of the "gods, since she is destined to the exalted rank of "King of the South and North." Thereupon Khnemu fashioned two bodies exactly alike, and since Ḥātshepset decreed that she was to be represented in male form, the bodies were made to be those of two little boys; one was that of the future queen (king), and the other that of her *ka* or "double," which whether in life or in death was never to leave the body of the queen. When Khnemu had finished fashioning the bodies his work was done; but they were without life, and remained inanimate until the goddess Ḥeqet, the wife of Khnemu, who was represented in the form of a frogheaded woman, stepped forward, and having knelt down, held up to their nostrils the symbol of life, wherefrom they inhaled the breath of life, and so became living souls.

When Khnemu had created the bodies of the queen and

her *ka*, Thoth went to her mother Âāḥmes and recited to her the titles and dignities which had been ordered to be conferred upon the daughter to whom she was about to give birth. At length, when her appointed time arrived, Khnemu and his wife Ḥeqet led her into the chamber where she was to bring forth Ḥātshepset, and among the titles which were given to her was one which declared that she was to be the "sovereign of all women,"  . In due course the queen gave birth to her daughter Ḥātshepset in the presence of several goddesses, and of the spirits of the North, and South, and East, and West, and of the goddess Meskhenet, the genius of the birth chamber, and of the deities Ta-urt and Bes; the queen received her daughter in her arms, and a goddess standing behind her at the same time touched her on her head with the symbol of life. Shortly after this Âmen went to see his daughter Ḥātshepset, and she was shown to him by the goddess Hathor, and as soon as he saw her he addressed her as "daughter of "my body, Maāt-ka-Rā, emanation glorious, thou ex- "alted issue of my loins, thou shalt sit upon the throne "of Horus and have dominion over the two lands like "Rā." Âmen then took his daughter into his arms, and embraced her and kissed her lovingly, and declared that she should be the sovereign of Egypt. Ḥātshepset, having been acknowledged by her father, was then handed over to the Hathor goddesses and the other deities who presided over the rearing and safety of children, and the fourteen *kau*, or "doubles," which

were attributed to her, were reared by the same means. In due course she was presented to each of the great gods of the Egyptians, and from each of them she received some gift which assisted in the development of her mind and body.

When a certain period in her childhood was reached she was taken, probably to the temple, by the gods Âmen and Horus, and was then made to submit to a ceremony of purification which these gods performed upon her by pouring water over her head; this ceremony seems to be the equivalent of baptism among Christian nations. After the purification Âmen showed the queen, who had male form, to the gods, and when they had looked upon her they said to him, "We bestow life and peace upon this thy "daughter Ḥātshepset; behold, she is thy daughter, "and she is sprung from what came forth from thee, "and thou didst beget her, and she is equipped with all "thy qualities. Thou hast given unto her thy soul, "and the homage which is paid to thee, and thy words "of power, and thy great crown. Whilst she was yet "in the womb of her mother all lands and countries "were hers, yea, whatsoever is covered by the sky and "surrounded by the sea. All these things thou makest "to be her possessions, and thou knowest the *ḥen*[1] "periods which thou wilt give her; and we will grant "unto her a portion of life like unto that of Horus, and

[1] Literally, *ḥenti* periods; see above, p. 17.

"years equal unto those of the god Set, with power." When the ceremony of purification was ended Ḥātshepset set out with her human father, Thoṭhmes I., to visit the shrines of the gods of Egypt, and she is at this time described as being "most beautiful, with the voice "of a god, and the form of a god," and her soul was that of a god, and she acted in every way like a god; she was a "beautiful damsel," and the goddess Uatch made her form and beauty to increase. She went to the shrines of Ḥathor, Uatchet, Àmen, Temu, Menthu, Khnemu, and all the other gods of the South and North, and they accepted her, and took her under their protection; and they foretold what she would do when she came to reign. It is pretty clear from the wording of the inscription which relates these details that the young princess made a pilgrimage which extended as far as Per-Uatchet in the north and as Elephantine in the south; Heliopolis is mentioned among the cities which she visited, but not Abydos, the shrine of Osiris. On her way it is probable that certain repairs and restorations were carried out by her father and herself, for the texts speak of her as "restoring what was in "ruins, and setting up monuments in thy temples, and "providing the altars of the god who begot thee with "offerings in abundance." The gods in their speech also refer to her great deeds, and say, "Thou makest thy "way through mountainous lands innumerable, and "makest thyself master of them; thou seizest the lands "of the Thehennu  ; thou smitest with thy

"weapons the devilish Ȧnti  , and cuttest off "the heads of their soldiers; thou art master of the "nobles of Reṭennu,  , with slaughter- "ings after the manner of thy father; thou hast tribute "from the people and takest prisoners by hundreds of "thousands; thou makest them to be workmen on the "lands and estates of the temples, and thou bringest "sacrifices (or offerings) into the temple of the Apts "(i.e., Karnak) to the steps of the shrine of the king "Ȧmen-Rā, the lord of the thrones of the two lands."[1]

After Ḥātshepset had visited the shrines she was again presented to the god Ȧmen, who superintended the performance of another ceremony in which she was brought into a sacred chamber and was arrayed in the garb of the god Osiris, and was made to hold in her hands the whip (or, flail) and crook (or sceptre), with which this god is always represented, and the united crowns of the South and North were placed upon her head. The princess Ḥātshepset was then ready to be crowned ruler of all Egypt, and although her elevation to the throne seems to have been against the wishes of the greater number of the people of Egypt, her father, Thothmes I., determined to make her co-regent. To carry this into effect he caused a suitable tent to be prepared, and the princess, having donned the garb of a man, was led forth by her father, who said to the assembled nobles, "I hereby set my daughter Ḥātshepset

[1] For the text see Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 3, plate 57.

"in my place and seat her upon my throne, and from "this time forward she shall sit on the holy throne with "steps. She shall give her commands unto all the "dwellers in the palace, and she shall be your leader, "and ye shall hearken unto her words, and obey her "commands. Whosoever shall ascribe praise unto her "shall live, but he who speaketh evil against her "Majesty shall die." The nobles heard the words of the king and forthwith they cast themselves down before their new sovereign and did homage, and then they rose up and danced for joy; when the king saw that they accepted his daughter, though a maiden, as their ruler he rejoiced, and ordered the chiefs of the learned men to come into his presence and to draw up the "great names" of the new queen, i.e., her Horus name, and the other names which have already been described at the beginning of this section. The names having been decided upon, the new queen was led into the "great house," and the god Khas,  , poured water over her, and when this was done she went into another part of the building, where the double crown was placed upon her head by two priests, who had dressed themselves to represent the gods Horus and Set; the day on which this ceremony was performed was made the first day of a new chronological era, and the reign of the queen was reckoned from it. The above is a brief account of the ceremonies which were performed when Thothmes I. decided that the "daughter of Amen" should become the queen of Egypt.

6.  Rā-men-kheper, son of the Sun, Teḥuti-mes [III.].



Ka-nekht-khā-em-Uast, the Horus name of Thothmes III.

Teḥuti-mes III., or Thothmes III., the Misphragmuthosis of Manetho, was the son of Thothmes II. by the queen Åset, and the nephew of the great queen Ḥātshepset, and the grandson of Thothmes I.; according to the versions of the King List of Manetho which have come down to us, he reigned twenty-six years, but the dated monuments prove that he claimed to have reigned more than double that time, and that he must have included in his reckoning the years which he ruled as co-regent with his aunt. He ascended the throne on the third or fourth day of the first month of the season Shemut, i.e., the month Pakhôn, or Pakhons, when he was still a child, and the royal titles assigned to him were, "Mighty Bull, rising like the sun in Thebes," "Mighty Bull, crowned with truth," "the Lord, maker of created things," "Mighty Bull, exalted by truth," "the King, established like the sun in heaven," "the Horus of gold," "holy one of crowns," "Prince, doubly brave," and, of course, "lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Per-Uatchet." Thothmes died on the last day of the third month of the season

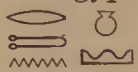
Pert, i.e., the month Phamenoth, in the fifty-fourth year of his reign, and he must therefore have reigned about fifty-three years, twenty-one years as co-regent with Ḥātshepset, and about thirty-two years alone. In the last year or two of his life he seems to have associated Ámen-ḥetep II. with him in the rule of the kingdom.

As soon as Ḥātshepset died, Thothmes III. found himself compelled to undertake a series of warlike expeditions on a scale which the Egyptians had never before contemplated, for in every portion of the Egyptian empire the nations that had paid tribute to his aunt suddenly refused to continue to do this, and all the desert tribes in Western Asia and in Nubia threw off the Egyptian yoke, and proclaimed themselves independent. The punishments which Thothmes I. had inflicted upon them were entirely forgotten, and the new generations which had grown up during the reigns of Thothmes II. and Ḥātshepset seem never to have had any deep-seated fear of those sovereigns of Egypt, and leagues against Egypt were made by the allied tribes, each with the other, in a quick and alarming manner. The young king of Egypt, for he must have been under thirty years of age, soon found that the policy of Ḥātshepset had brought in its train serious trouble, and that almost every tribe and nation which had formerly acknowledged the supremacy of Egypt was in a state of hostility towards him. Ḥātshepset boasted that the people of Northern Syria paid tribute to her, but it is quite clear that even in her time Egypt

had well-nigh lost in that country the influence which her father had obtained there; in fact, the Syrian, and the man of the desert, and the Negro were all waiting for her death, and all seem to have decided that when this event took place they would cease to carry their gifts to Egypt, where they were employed chiefly in building great temples in honour of gods who were strange to them. Of the private life and character of Thothmes III. we know nothing, but the inscriptions which he left behind on his buildings at Karnak prove that he was both a great soldier and a great builder. It may be urged that he displayed the possession of a small mind in hammering out the inscriptions and figures of queen Ḥātshepset from the walls of her temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî, but considering the strength of his hatred for his aunt, and his absolute power, the wonder is not that he destroyed so much, but that he did not destroy more. We can only be thankful that he did not overthrow the whole building.

The chief authorities for the military expeditions undertaken by Thothmes III. are the official Annals which are inscribed on a part of the Temple of Karnak,[1] and an inscription of Ámen-em-ḥeb, one of the generals of Thothmes III., who died in the reign of Ámen-ḥetep II. and was buried at Ḳûrna, on the

[1] For the texts see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. plates 31 and 32; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 5 ff.; Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. ii. p. 48 ff.; Birch, *The Annals of Thothmes III.*, London, 1853 (*Archaeologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 116–166).

western bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes; from these the following facts have been compiled:— The Annals open with a statement to the effect that Thothmes III. gave the order that the narrative of the victories, and a list of the spoil which he had gained by them, should be inscribed upon the temple built by him in honour of the god Åmen-Rā, who had made him to be victorious. On the 25th day of the fourth month of the season Pert (i.e., Pharmuthi), in the 22nd year of his reign, Thothmes III. was in the city of Tchalu,  , in his first campaign to enlarge the frontiers of Egypt. The people of the country of the Rethennu,  , had been in a disturbed state for some years past, and the only loyal cities that were left to Egypt were Sharuhen,  , and Irtcha,  , and the villages as far as the swamps. On the third day of the first month of the season Shemut (i.e., Pakhôn), in the 23rd year of his reign, which was the anniversary of his accession day, Thothmes III. was at Gaza,  *Ḳatchatu*, which he left two days later in order to set out on the expedition which Åmen-Rā had ordered him to undertake. The next day, the 6th, he arrived at Iḥem,  , where he held a council of war, and learned that the peoples of Neherina, and the Shasu, and the Kharu, and the Qeṭshu had made a league together, and had assembled

all their horses and chariots in order to do battle with the king of Egypt; he discussed with his officers which route to follow in order to reach Megiddo quickly, for the rebellion had spread with great rapidity, and the whole country was in revolt.

Of the three roads which led to Megiddo, two were rejected by the generals as unsuitable, but the king decided to march there by one of them, and his officers were obliged to say that they would follow him whithersoever he went, and they prayed that his god Amen would guard him. Thereupon Thothmes III., having put himself at the head of his army, set out, and his troops advanced in single formation, and marched through the rocky valleys to the north of Carmel. After one day's rest he marched on again, and he succeeded in collecting all his forces at a place a little to the south of the city of Megiddo soon after noon; later in the day the king held a council of war, when he decided to give battle to the allied rebels in Megiddo on the following day, and the generals then returned to their companies and informed them of the positions which they were to occupy on the following day. In the evening rations were served out, and when sentries had been posted, the Egyptian host settled down for the night, with the exception of the king, who refused to lie down until he had trustworthy news that all was quiet. At daybreak on the 21st the whole army marched out in single formation, its right wing resting on the river

and its left stretching out along the plain and reaching to Megiddo on its north-western side; the king standing upright in his bright metal chariot occupied the centre, and to his troops he appeared like the god Horus with his spear, or the god Menthu of Thebes. The allied hosts of the enemy, who did not expect to be attacked so early in the day, were struck with horror and dismay, and having left their chariots and horses they fled to the city for refuge, but the inhabitants of the city, seeing what had happened, and having no wish that the Egyptian soldiers should gain possession of the city as well as capture their enemies, promptly shut the gates and refused to open them. Some of the inhabitants of the city let down cords and drew up the leaders of the revolt by means of them over the walls; in this way the prince of Kadesh and the prince of Megiddo escaped from the Egyptians, but the fear of the king of Egypt had paralyzed them, and their limbs shook with terror at the sight of the slaughter which he had made.

Meanwhile the Egyptians returned to the stricken field, and gathered together the gold and silver plated chariots of their enemies, and the daggers and other weapons, and having cut off a hand from each corpse, and collected their prisoners, they brought all their spoil before the king, whom they greeted with shouts of joy. The king, however, was not as well pleased as they were, for had they pressed home their first attack and followed up their foes to the walls of Megiddo, instead

of turning aside to take spoil, the city would have been in his hands, and to have taken the city that day would have been equivalent to taking a thousand cities, because all the leaders of the revolt were shut up inside it. The only thing left for the king to do was to take the city, and with this object in view he made his arrangements. He stationed his soldiers round the city, and having provided shelters for them made of the wood of the trees which he cut down, he caused a ditch to be dug all round the city; he encircled the ditch with a wooden fence, behind which he placed his men, and to the east he built a sort of blockhouse which he called "Men-kheper-Rā-uaḥ-Sati,"[1] and occupied it himself. The inhabitants of Megiddo soon found that they could not get out to obtain supplies, and that supplies could not be brought in to them, and when they further discovered that the Egyptian soldiers kept constant vigil they surrendered to Thothmes III., and marching out they brought gifts and laid them at his feet. The annalist says that a diary of the war was kept, and that all the mighty deeds which were performed by the king were written therein, and that a copy of it was made upon a leather roll which was laid up in the temple of Amen.

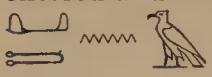
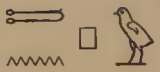
The spoil obtained from Megiddo was very great; and among other things enumerated in the list are 2041 mares, 340 prisoners, 191 young horses, 200 suits of armour,

[1] I.e., "Men-kheper-Rā who quieteth the Asiatics."

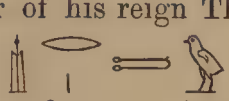
502 bows, 924 chariots, one chariot with a canopy plated with gold, the chariot of a chief which also was gold plated, the tent of the prince of Kadesh with its seven poles of choice wood inlaid with silver, 1949 oxen, 2000 goats, 296 bulls, 20,500 sheep. Among this booty were 83 hands, each of which had been cut off from a dead foe, and thus it seems that the actual loss of life in the battle was not very great. From the country of Syria generally the king also obtained much spoil and many prisoners, viz., 1796 men and women slaves, 103 starving captives of the enemy, 87 sons of chiefs and others, a large Syrian cup, a large number of vases and vessels of all shapes and sizes, 97 swords weighing 1784 pounds, gold and silver rings weighing 966 pounds, a silver statue with a head of gold, objects made of ivory, ebony, etc., inlaid with gold, thrones and footstools, ivory and cedar-wood tables inlaid with gold and precious stones, the sceptre of the chief of the enemy inlaid with gold, vessels of bronze, clothing, etc. By the orders of the king a list was made of all the corn lands which lay between Megiddo and the waste lands, and, the amount of the corn which they produced in one harvest having been calculated by the king's officer, the people of the district were compelled to give 208,000 measures of corn, and this did not include what the Egyptian troops had cut for their use meanwhile. With this great booty Thothmes III. returned to Egypt, and the inhabitants of the country appreciated highly the results of the expedition which

brought into their possession such vast quantities of valuable property.

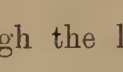
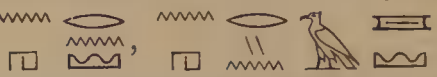
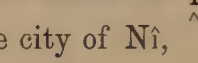
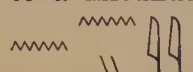
In the 24th year of his reign Thothmes III. set out on his second expedition against the tribes of Palestine and Syria, and he brought back with him pieces of lapis-lazuli, vessels of gold, and silver, and precious stones, which had been brought to him by the governor of Assyria, and a king's daughter, and ornaments of gold and silver, lapis-lazuli, 65 slaves, 9 chariots plated with gold, bulls, oxen, sheep and goats, suits of bronze armour, 823 vessels of incense, 1718 vessels of wine, honey, ivory, and precious woods from the chiefs of the Rethennu. In the 25th year of his reign Thothmes III. marched into Northern Syria, and occupied the whole of the country to the west of the city of Aleppo and in the neighbourhood of Karkĕmish; in addition to the various gifts which were given to him by the tribes which may be described as his vassals, he brought back a number of plants or shrubs which were highly prized in Egypt, for he wished to introduce the cultivation of them into the country. These plants were so highly appreciated that representations of them were sculptured upon the walls of the temple of Åmen-Rā at Thebes. Thothmes III. sent expeditions into Syria in the 26th and 27th years of his reign, but no records of them have been preserved. It is probable that they were only undertaken to collect the annual tribute which the Egyptian king had imposed upon the tribes of the

country, for had there been any serious fighting we should probably have been told about it by some officer or general like Amen-em-ḥeb. In the 28th year of his reign Thothmes III. marched into Syria, with the intention of reducing the whole country in the neighbourhood of Aleppo; this done he marched to Karkĕmish, and passing the "water of Neherna" he entered and took possession of the country of Mitanni,  *Māthena*, one of the chief cities of which was Tunip,  *Thenpu*, or  *Tunipa*; the spoil taken from the city comprised gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, vessels of copper, and some hundreds of captives, and the Egyptians seized a boat on one of the rivers near, which was laden with copper. On the return journey to Egypt Thothmes III. attacked the flourishing city of Arvad, apparently about the end of the time of harvest, for the corn was being threshed, and the grapes were being trodden in the wine-presses; the city was taken, and the trees cut down, and the land laid waste, and when the Egyptian soldiers had laden themselves with all they could carry they departed to their own country, fully satisfied with their booty. They took with them silver, copper, precious stones, incense, wine, grain, horses, sheep and cattle, etc.

In the 30th year of his reign Thothmes III. set out once more to the country of the Rethennu, and wheresoever he went he cut down the trees and reaped the corn;

he took the cities of Kadesh,  , and Simyra,  *Tchamāru*, and made another attack upon the city of Arvad,  *Áruthtu*, which was once more despoiled. It seems that the chiefs of the country had not yet decided to accept the rule of Egypt without a struggle, for in order to ensure their good behaviour Thothmes III. felt obliged to carry some of their sons and brothers off to Egypt and to hold them there as hostages. Among the spoil taken on this, the sixth expedition of the king, were nearly 200 prisoners, 188 mares, and 40 chariots. In the 31st year of his reign Thothmes III. took the city of Ánruthu,  , which seems to have been situated on a river or lake in Northern Syria called Neserna,  , and captured about 500 prisoners, together with a number of horses and chariots; on the same expedition the chiefs of the Rethennu paid him a very large tribute, which comprised the usual precious metals and stones, copper, sheep and cattle, etc. On his return to Egypt he found a company of people who had been sent from Nubia, and the country lying to the south of it, to present to him tribute, which consisted of gum, cattle, ivory, ebony, and black slaves; and the people of Uauat, a district in Nubia, sent a number of cattle.

Of the expedition in the 32nd year of the reign of Thothmes III. we know nothing, but in his 33rd year

he marched through the land of Tchahi,  , or Phoenicia, and then on to the country of Nehern, or Neherina,  ; he took all the cities in this region, and killed or put to flight their inhabitants, and in the city of Nî,  , which was situated near a river, he set up a memorial tablet, side by side with the tablet which his grandfather, Thothmes I., had set up there, to mark the limit of the Egyptian Empire to the east in Western Asia. The city of Nî was formerly supposed to represent the city of Nineveh, but this was due to a misunderstanding, whereby the words "en Ni,"  , "of the country of Ni," were read "Nèni" or "Nini," which in the early days of Egyptology was thought to be a faithful transcription of the Hebrew form of the name *Nînewêh*. The name of the city of Nineveh seems not yet to have been found in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, probably because the city was not yet in existence, but if it was it was too far to the north in the kingdom of Assyria,  *Àssure*, to be of any great size or importance. Whilst Thothmes III. was in the neighbourhood of Nî, according to the statement of one of his generals called Àmen-em-ḥeb, he hunted elephants and slew one hundred and twenty. Among those who sent a gift to him was the king of Sinjâr, 

Sanḳaru, who probably had his capital in the Sinjâr Mountains, near the site of the modern city; he sent to Thothmes III. some genuine lapis-lazuli, and a quantity of the excellent imitation of the stone which was made in those days at Bebru,  , a place that has been identified with Babylon. In this year the chiefs of the Ruthennu, and of the lands of the Khatti, and Punt, and Uauat, also sent gifts and tribute.

In the 34th year of his reign Thothmes III. again marched into Tchahi, and then on to the district of Ânâuḳasa,  , which was situated in the Lebanon mountains; here he took a number of the inhabitants prisoners, and the chiefs of the city gave him quantities of gold, silver, precious stones, woods, chariots, mares, asses, etc. In the same year the chiefs of the island of Âsi (Cyprus?), sent to him large quantities of copper of two kinds, lead, ivory, thrones, etc.; and Kush and Uauat, two great districts of Nubia, sent slaves, male and female, ivory, ebony, cattle, and grain. The tribute of the chiefs of the Ruthennu was very great this year, and we may note that balks of timber were brought in boats to Egypt, for the building of the palace of the king. In the 35th year of the reign of Thothmes III. the king again marched to Tchahi (Phoenicia), and then went on and attacked the city of Areana, at or near which the king of Nehern (Western Babylonia) had collected

a number of horses and men in order to resist the advance of the Egyptian king. The result was the usual one, for the Egyptians defeated their foes, who were compelled to give them chariots inlaid with gold and silver, suits of armour, weapons of bronze, bows, etc., and to promise to pay tribute in future years. In the same year the people of Kush also sent the usual gifts of slaves, ivory, ebony, cattle, etc., besides a large quantity of grain.

The thirteenth expedition of Thothmes III. took place in the 38th year of his reign, and having marched into Phoenicia he directed his course towards the district of Ȧnȧuḳasa; having laid waste one or more rebellious cities, the inhabitants came and brought to him gifts similar in many respects to those of the neighbouring nations. The kings of Arurekh, Ȧsi (Cyprus?), Punt, and Uauat also sent tribute. In the 39th year of his reign Thothmes III. marched into the land of the Rethennu, and using this country as a base for operations, he made attacks upon the nomad desert tribes that lived in the country of Western Mesopotamia, and were called the Shasu,  . We have no details of the result of these attacks, but it is probable that the great *shêkhs* who were owners of large flocks and herds, and who could not in consequence escape into the desert, gave gifts to the king of Egypt, which were duly enumerated among the tribute which was received during that year. But Thothmes III.

could never have possessed any real power over the purely desert tribes, for by retreating into the fastnesses of the desert, to which they were well accustomed, they were able to place themselves beyond the reach of their pursuers. Want of water has always been a serious obstacle to the passage of that "great and terrible desert," and the transport arrangements of the Egyptian army must, even under Thothmes III., have been of a most elementary character.

In the 40th and 41st years of his reign he received tribute from the kings of Cyprus, Rethennu, Kheta, and from the Nubian districts of Kush and Uauat. In the 42nd year of his reign he made his last expedition into Northern Syria, and on this occasion he laid waste the cities of Tunep, Ârḳata, and all the region round about the city of Kadesh, and part of the country of Nehern. His general, Âmen-em-ḥeb, tells us that one day whilst the forces, both chariots and soldiers, of Thothmes were drawn up ready to make an attack, the king of Kadesh turned out a mare and sent her towards the Egyptian stallions, which at once became very much excited and were on the point of breaking loose. The situation was, however, saved by Âmen-em-ḥeb, who ran after the mare and having ripped her open with his sword, cut off her tail, which he presented to the king.[1] The tribute collected by Thothmes III. on this expedition was very large, and it comprised about 700 prisoners, about 300 slaves, male

[1] See Borchardt, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. 31, 1893, p. 61.

and female, horses, mares, vessels of gold and silver, skins of beasts, lead, suits of armour, lapis-lazuli, copper, etc. In the same year the people of Uauat sent a large quantity of gold to the king, and the prince of another foreign land, probably near Uauat, sent him a vessel in silver, and three massive vessels in bronze. The Annals end with the account of the expedition undertaken in the 42nd year of the king's reign. It is impossible to think that no further expeditions were undertaken during the last twelve years of the reign of Thothmes III., for had this been the case few, if any, of the tribes and nations would have paid the tribute due from them; but it is extremely probable that the king no longer conducted them in person, and that he handed over the command of further expeditions to his son or to his generals.

In the 50th year of his reign it seems as if some military operations were conducted against the Nubians, for an inscription, which was discovered by the late Mr. Wilbour, on a rock on the Island of Sâhal in the First Cataract, mentions that on the 22nd day of the first month of the season Shemut, in the 50th year of the reign of Thothmes III., the king commanded that the old canal in the Cataract, which had become blocked up with stones, should be cleared out, and that this having been done he went on his way to the south with a joyful heart.[1]

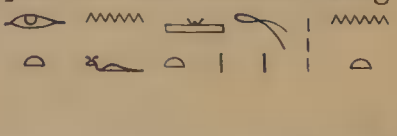
Four years later the king died, on the 30th day

[1] *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 203.

of the month Phamenoth, and was buried in a tomb which was specially prepared for him in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. This tomb was discovered by M. Loret in the spring of 1898, and it lies at a short distance from the tomb of Rameses III. The walls of the chambers of the tomb are ornamented with figures of gods, and inscriptions, among others being a long list of gods, and a complete copy of the funeral work entitled, "Book of knowing what is in the underworld." On a column in the second chamber we see a figure of Thothmes, followed by those of his mother Âset, and his wives and daughter. The sarcophagus was, of course, found to be empty, for the king's mummy was removed from its tomb to the hiding-place at Dêr al-Baḥarî,



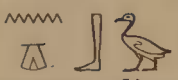
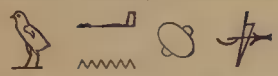
A Negro from Nubia.

where it was found with its coffin about twenty years ago. The mummy measured rather less than five feet in height, and when it was opened in July, 1881, it was found to be in a most deplorable state; it had been broken into three pieces by the tomb robbers, in ancient days, but these had been placed together, and the whole, with the help of some short pieces of wood, which were employed to give the body rigidity, had been re-bandaged, probably at some time in the XVIIIth Dynasty. The covering was torn into three strips, and was inscribed with a most interesting text, which is now known as Chapter CLIV. of the Book of the Dead,[1] and with extracts from the funeral work which is generally called the "Litany of the Sun." One vertical line of hieroglyphics[2] states that it was king Åmen-ḥetep II., the son of Thothmes III., who made "monuments to his father," and "who had the texts "which would make the spirit of the deceased king "perfect done in writing,"  .

It has already been said that the Annals of Thothmes III. are, in places, very fragmentary, but there are two documents which must be noticed in

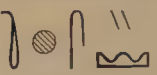
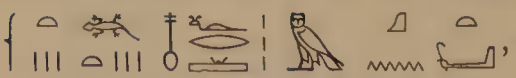
[1] The oldest copy of this Chapter is found in the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus. No. 10,471, sheet 18); see my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, text, p. 398.

[2] Maspero, *Les Momies Royales*, p. 548.

connexion with them; the first is the inscription[1] which is found on the walls of the tomb[2] of Àmen-em-ḥeb at Shêkh 'Abd al-Ḳurna, and the second is the inscription on the stele of Thothmes III. preserved in the Cairo Museum, in which the god Àmen addresses the king and gives a summary of all the great works which he made him to do. Àmen-em-ḥeb tells us that he was the greatly trusted and intimate friend of the king of the South and North, and that he followed his lord to the lands of the North and South. He went to the land of Neḳeb  , near Aleppo, and captured three prisoners alive; when he went with the king to Nehern he captured another prisoner, and later, when he went to the country of Uān,  , to the west of Aleppo,  *Kharebu*, he captured 13 prisoners of the Āamu, 70 asses, 13 bronze weapons, etc. He next went with his king to Karkĕmish,  , where he captured more prisoners, and sailing over the "water of Nehern," he entered the region of Sentchar,  . He was present at the siege of

[1] See Ebers, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 1–9, 63, 64; Chabas, *Mélanges*, tom. ii. pp. 279–306.

[2] It contains important scenes in which the Syrians and others are depicted bringing tribute to the king.

Kadesh, and his bravery was so great that he was specially rewarded by the king. In the land of Thakhsi,  , he took more prisoners and was again rewarded, and whilst he was in the neighbourhood of Nî,  , he helped the king to hunt 120 elephants,  . The largest of the elephants hunted turned upon the king, but Àmen-em-ḥeb probably saved his master's life by cutting off the trunk of the beast[1] whilst he was still alive; for this act of bravery he was again rewarded. The episode of the mare at Kadesh has already been referred to, and we pass on to his next deed of valour, when he succeeded in making a breach in the new walls which the king of Kadesh had raised up round his city, and in leading the Egyptians through it into the headquarters of the enemy; after this exploit he returned to Egypt. Thus, he says, the king passed many happy years in fighting,  , and so lived from the 1st to the 54th year of his reign; on the last day of Phamenoth he departed to heaven, and was united to the sun's disk Àten, and became a follower of the god. Àmen-em-ḥeb lived for some years during the reign of Àmen-ḥetep II., the son and successor of

[1]  . Literally, "I cut off his hand."



Stele inscribed with a summary of the conquests of Thothmes III.
Egyptian Museum at Cairo.

Thothmes III., but was probably too old to join him in the expeditions which he made.

The summary of the conquests of Thothmes III., which are attributed to the god Åmen, is inscribed upon a large stone stele, and is of great interest; this stele was originally set up in the great temple of the Northern Åpt at Karnak, and it is possible that the text upon it formed a song of victory, or hymn, which was sung by the priests of Åmen on state occasions. On the upper, rounded portion of the stele we have two scenes; in the first Thothmes III. is "making a drink offering to Åmen-Rā," in the second he is "making an offering of incense to Åmen-Rā." Behind the king in the first scene stands the goddess of Thebes, holding bows in one hand and the symbol of life in the other, and in the second scene stands the same goddess, but with bows and arrows in one hand and a club in the other. Above both scenes is the winged disk of "Beḥuṭet, the great god, lord of heaven," with pendent uraei, wearing the crowns of the South and North respectively. The vertical line of text between the scenes declares that Åmen-Rā, the king of the gods, will "give all life, and all protection, and life, and "stability, and power, and all health, and all joy of "heart, like Rā for ever," to Thothmes III. The inscription reads:—Saith Åmen-Rā, the lord of the thrones of the two lands: (1) "Come then unto me, "O my brave son Men-kheper-Rā, the everliving, and "make thyself to rejoice at the sight of my beautiful

"form. I shine because of thy love [for me], and my "heart expandeth with joy (2) at thy fortunate visits "to my temple. I have laid both my hands upon the "limbs of thy body in giving thee the protection of "life, and doubly sweet is thy mighty presence unto "my divine, visible body. I have established thee (3) "in my dwelling-place, and I have made thee to be "a divine wonder [unto me]. I have given unto thee "might and victory over all foreign lands, and I have "made thy will (or, souls) and the fear of thee to be "in all the lands of the world, and mighty terror of "thee reacheth even unto the (4) four pillars of the "sky.[1] I have magnified thy irresistible might in [the "sight of] all bodies, and I have made the sound of "the roarings of thy Majesty to go round about among "the Nine Bow barbarians. The chiefs of all the "foreign lands are gathered together within thy grasp. "(5) I have stretched out my two hands and have tied "together for thee as with a rope the Ànti tribes of "Nubia by tens of thousands and thousands, and I "have made thousands, and I have made prisoners for "thee of the peoples of the North by hundreds of "thousands. (6) I have made to fall down thine "opponents under thy sandals, and thou hast destroyed, "even according to the decree which I had made, the

[1] The allusion here is to the belief that the sky, which was made of a perfectly flat iron plate, rectangular in shape, was supported at each corner by a pillar; each pillar was guarded by a god, and the four pillars represented the four cardinal points.

"hosts of the rebellious ones throughout the length and "breadth of the land, and the peoples of the West and "the nations of the East are [set] beneath thy throne "for thee. (7) Thou hast marched with a joyful "heart over all foreign lands which had never been "entered until the time of thy Majesty, and I myself "was thy guide when thou didst go forth to attack "them. Thou hast sailed over the waters of the Great "Circle [1] of (8) Nehern (i.e., Western Mesopotamia) "mightily and victoriously. I decreed for thee that "the peoples thereof should hear the noise of thy "roarings as thou didst enter into their caves, and "I removed from their nostrils the breath of life. "(9) I made the terror of thy Majesty to enter into "their hearts. My uraeus crown is set upon thy "brow, it hath burned them with the fire, and hath "made thee to lead away into captivity the rebellious "peoples of Qeṭ, i.e., the coast of Palestine. (10) It "hath consumed with fire all those who were dwelling "in their swampy places, and it cut off the chiefs of "the Āamu,[2] and they were not able to escape, and it "hath overthrown him that came within the reach of "its power. (11) I have made thy valiant deeds to go "round about through all the lands, and I have cast "the light of my crown upon thy body. Within the "whole circuit of the skies no enemy of thine existeth,

[1] The allusion here is to the rivers which enclose the Island of Mesopotamia.

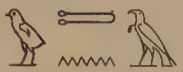
[2] I.e., the nomad Semitic tribes of the Eastern Desert.

"and they come bearing [their] offerings upon their "backs with (12) homage to thy Majesty, even in "accordance with the decree which I made. I made the "rebels to put on chains when they came to thee, and "their hearts burned and their limbs quaked. (13) I "came, and I made thee to subdue the mighty chiefs of "Tchah (Phoenicia), and I drove them under thy feet "throughout their lands. I made thy Majesty to look "upon them with rays of light, and thou didst shine "upon their faces as my divine Image. (14) I came, "and I made thee to smite those who were in Satet "(Asia), and I made thee to lead into captivity the "chiefs of the Āamu[1] of Rethennu. I made them to "behold thy Majesty when thou wast equipped in thy "panoply of war and wast grasping thy weapons and "doing battle from [thy] chariot. (15) I came, and I "made thee to smite the land of the East, and thou "didst trample under foot those who were in the "regions of Ta-neter.[2] I made them to look upon thy "Majesty as one who revolveth like a star which "shooteth out fire as it circleth and sendeth forth its "dew. (16) I came, and I made thee to smite the "land of the West, and the foreign land of Kefti, "  ,[3] and Âsi,  (Cyprus ?), are

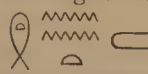
[1] I.e., the nomad Semitic tribes of Northern Syria.

[2] I.e., the eastern and western shores of the southern half of the Red Sea, and perhaps part of Somaliland.

[3] I.e., the countries of Asia Minor on the shore of the Mediterranean, including Crete.

"under thy awesome power. I made them to look "upon thy Majesty as a young and very vigorous bull "which is equipped with horns and cannot be ap- "proached. (17) I came, and I made thee to smite "those who were dwelling in the swampy places of the "land of Māthen (Mitanni), and they quaked through "fear of thee. I made them to look upon thy Majesty "as a most terrible crocodile of the waters which could "not be approached. (18) I came, and I made thee to "smite those who dwell in the isles in the midst of the "Great Green (i.e., the Mediterranean), by means of "thy roarings, I made them to look upon thy Majesty "as the slaughterer who putteth himself upon the back "of the animal which he is about to offer up as a "sacrifice. (19) I came, and I made thee to smite the "Theḥennu (Libyans), and the lands of Uthenti, "  ,[1] are in the power of thy will (or "souls). I made them to look upon thy Majesty as a "raging lion, and thou didst make them to flee into "their holes in the valley. (20) I came, and I made "thee to smite the peoples who dwelt in the lands at "the back of the countries of the Circles,[2] the Great

[1] I.e., the coast of Libya.

[2] The Egyptians regarded Mesopotamia as an island which was surrounded by a river, and they considered the Tigris and Euphrates to spring from one source; "Circle,"  , was the name given to this double river, and the description "Great Circle" is only added for emphasis. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 252.

"Circle, and they are gathered up within thy grasp. I "made them to look upon "thy Majesty as the "hawk of Horus, the "lord of pinions, which "by means of the fierce "glance of his eye "carrieth off whatsoever "he pleaseth. (21) I "came, and I made thee "to smite the people who "dwelt in the foreparts "of the lands, and thou "didst take as living "prisoners the Dwellers "on the Sand (i.e., the "nomad desert tribes). "I made them to look "upon thy Majesty as a "jackal of the south "which travelleth swiftly "and disappeareth ra-"pidly through the two "lands. (22) I came, "and I made thee to "smite the Ânti tribes "of Nubia, [and their "lands] as far as Kept, "  , are in thy grasp. I made them to look



A Libyan.

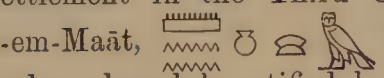
"upon thy Majesty as thy two divine brethren. I "have gathered together their hands to thee . . . . "(23) thy two sisters, and I have placed them at "thy side to protect thee. The hands of my Majesty "are in heaven above to drive away evil [from thee]. "I have made thee to be glorious, O my son, my be- "loved one, thou mighty Bull who risest like the sun "in Thebes, I have begotten thee with . . . . (24) O "Thothmes, the everliving one, who hast performed every "wish of mine. Thou hast created for me a dwelling "place in work which shall endure for ever, and thou "hast made it longer and wider than it ever was before, "and [thou didst] make a great pylon. (25) Thou hast "celebrated the festival of the beauties of Åmen-Rā, and "thy monuments are greater than those of any other "king who hath ever existed. I commanded thee to "make them, and thou hast been content to do so; "therefore I have stablished thee upon the throne of "Horus for millions of years, and thou shalt guide the "living . . . ."

The above inscription indicates that Thothmes III. devoted a large portion of the spoil which he obtained from his vassal kings to enlarging the temples of the gods and to the support of the priesthood of Åmen, and as we see this fact reflected also in the official inscriptions of his reign, so we find in the ruins of the ancient cities which have been excavated in recent years the remains of the temples which he founded or re-founded, and of the shrines which he

cleansed, and of the buildings which he repaired, and of the architectural works which he completed. His liberality seems to have been unbounded in this respect, but it must be remembered that the vast amount of tribute which he had been able to collect in the course of his fourteen or fifteen expeditions enabled him to undertake the building of temples and other sacred edifices on a scale which had before been impossible for want of funds. And besides, he made the prisoners whom he had brought to Egypt labour in the building of the temples, and there is every reason for thinking that they were employed upon public works in general. At Heliopolis he built a door,[1] and enclosed the temple with a wall; at Memphis he repaired the temple of Ptaḥ: he completed the Speos Artemidos which Ḥāt-shepset had begun; he built a temple at Abydos, all traces of which have, however, disappeared, and dedicated a colossal statue of the god Osiris to it; he restored and completed the temple of Dendera, which is said to have been founded by Khufu (Cheops), and repaired by Pepi Mer-en-Rā; he rebuilt the temple at Coptos; he added a granite portal and a door to the temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî, which Ḥāt-shepset never finished; he built and dedicated a small sandstone temple to Âmen at Medînet Habu; and he must have carried on building operations on a very large scale at several places and shrines on the west

[1] The chief works of Thothmes III. are summarized by Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 359 ff.

bank of the Nile opposite Thebes. But the greatest and best of his architectural works were reserved for the temple of Åmen-Rā, the lord of the thrones of the world, in the Southern Åpt at Thebes. Here he built a large colonnade which measured about 150 feet by 50 feet, with a roof that rested on 40 granite columns and 32 rectangular pillars. The columns are of great interest, for they taper downwards, and their capitals, which are made in the forms of the cups of flowers, are inverted; the pillars and the walls supported a roof, upon which rose small pillars, with an architrave to the height of the central columns, and these in their turn supported one side of the roof over the central portion of the hall. Close to this colonnade was a series of rooms which were ornamented with reliefs whereon were represented in great detail the animals and plants which Thothmes III. brought back from the land of Rethennu on his return from his third expedition to that country, which took place in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Thothmes III. also built a pylon to the temple, and on the walls on each side of the granite doorway he inscribed the names of all the peoples, and tribes, and cities, and lands which he had brought into subjection. The famous Annals of Thothmes III. are inscribed on the walls of a passage near the shrine of the temple of Karnak, but the texts are much mutilated; the two granite pillars, one bearing the lotus of the South and the other the papyrus of the North, which were set up by Thothmes III., still stand in the court by

which entrance is gained to the shrine. Besides all this, the king built a small temple which was entered through a gateway built in the wall that joined the pylons erected by his aunt and himself respectively, and behind it he dug the sacred lake, whereon at stated intervals processions of sacred boats used to take place. At Hermonthis, Esna, El-kâb, Edfu, Silsila, Kom Ombo, he carried on building operations, and on the Island of Elephantine he built a temple in honour of the god Khnemu; this temple was standing in 1822, but it was soon after pulled down by the orders of Muḥammad Ali, who wished to build a palace with the blocks of stone from it at Aswân! At several places in Nubia he restored or founded small temples, and he was the founder of the large temple at Soleb, which marks the site of the ancient Egyptian settlement in the Third Cataract called Menen-en-khā-em-Maāt,  ; this temple was greatly enlarged and beautified by Amen-ḥetep III. There are several places between Soleb and the foot of the Fourth Cataract (Gebel Barkal) where remains of XVIIIth Dynasty buildings are to be found, and it is very probable that many inscriptions of the reign of Thothmes III. would be found if the sites of old settlements were excavated. So able a king must have had his outposts held by Egyptians much further south than Soleb, otherwise he could never have maintained his hold upon the country; in any case his kingdom extended from the Euphrates at Nî on the north to Soleb on the south, and his buildings and inscriptions

in the Sinaitic peninsula prove that he was master of the Eastern Desert also.

The largest of the obelisks which Thothmes III. set up is commonly called the "Obelisk of St. John Lateran," and stands on the hill of the Lateran at Rome; it is 105 feet in height and contains inscriptions of Thothmes III., Thothmes IV.,[1] and Rameses II., who repaired it and re-erected it. Part of a second obelisk of Thothmes III. is in Constantinople, a third is in New York, and a fourth, "Cleopatra's Needle," has been set up on the Thames Embankment in London. The last two are supposed by some to be the two obelisks which "king Mesphres" is said to have made, and which are reported by Pliny[2] to have stood at the door of Caesar's temple in Alexandria. In an inscription found in the temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî it is said that the height of the obelisks which were set up in front of that temple was 108 cubits, i.e., each obelisk was more than 180 feet high. No remains of these obelisks have up to the present been found in Egypt, in spite of all the efforts which have been made to trace them. Recently a theory has has been put forward[3] that the "obelisk" which now stands in the Hippodrome at Constantinople is only the upper part of an obelisk, and that it is in fact a portion

[1] The text on it says that there was an interval of thirty-five years between the reigns of Thothmes III. and Thothmes IV.

[2] *Hist. Nat.*, Bk. xxxvi. 15, 69.

[3] Petrie, *History*, vol. ii. p. 131 ff.

of one of the two obelisks which stood before Ḥātshepset's temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî. The inscriptions upon it refer, however, to Thothmes III., but this is held to be no difficulty in the way of the identification, for the obelisks might well have been set up after the great queen's death by her nephew. It seems clear that the "obelisk" at Constantinople is only a portion of an obelisk, and as it is only about fifty feet high it appears to be too slender for its height, if we may judge from the proportions of the other obelisks of the reign of Thothmes III. which are known to us, always supposing that he set up those at the entrance to his aunt's temple. The height of the "obelisk" at Constantinople when it was first brought there is not known, but it was probably much higher than it is now, for it was thrown down by an earthquake and it lay upon the ground for a considerable time; and it is more than probable that some of the lower portion of it was broken off, and that not knowing how to join the pieces together the prefect Proclus, who re-erected it by the command of the Emperor Theodosius,[1] set up the largest portion. Curiously enough, in addition to the marble reliefs with which the base was ornamented by the Praetorian prefect, the top was surmounted by a large brass pine-

[1] The Latin inscription on the base of the obelisk reads :—

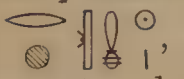
Difficilis quondam Dominis parere serenis
Jussus et extinctis palmam portare tyrannis;
Omnia Theodosio cedunt subolique perenni.
Ter denis sic victus ego domitusque diebus,
Judice sub Proclo superas elatus ad auras.

apple or fir-cone; this, however, was thrown down by an earthquake, which fortunately left the portion of the obelisk standing where it now is.



Statue of Netchem, an official of Thothmes III. British Museum, No. 840.

For the carrying out of the great building operations planned by Thothmes III., the services of a very large number of workmen and officials of different ranks and grades must have been required, and the leaders of these must have been men of great ability, who possessed a good theoretical and practical knowledge of architecture. Among such was the official Puàm,  , and in his tomb at Ḳûrna is a scene in which this official is represented seated on a chair, whilst six men stand before him with their left hands touching their right shoulders, and their right hands clasping their left forearms; they are all overseers, or superintendents, three of the works of the temple of Àmen, and

three of the handicraftsmen.[1] As a part of the same scene in the tomb we see drawings of two obelisks, on which, when perfect, were inscribed the names and titles of Thothmes III., and we are quite justified in assuming that they were head men who planned and carried out the setting up of the great obelisks of Thothmes III. Another great official and trusted servant of the king was Rekh-må-Rā,  , i.e., "he who is as wise as Rā," whose ancestors had held high office under Thothmes I., Thothmes II., and queen Ḥātshepset; he himself was the prime minister of Thothmes III. from the 32nd year of this king's reign[2] until the early years of the reign of Åmen-ḥetep II. The tomb of Rekh-må-Rā is at Ḳûrna, and it is one of the most interesting of the tombs of the period. The scenes on its walls represent the envoys of the peoples of Punt, Kefti, Nubia, Syria, and the Islands of the Mediterranean Sea (?) bringing tribute to his master; and the performance of the duties which devolved upon him in connexion with his duties as governor of the city, and judge, and steward of the temple of Åmen, and confidential adviser to the king; and the superintending of the work of the various artificers and handicraftsmen employed in his master's service and in his own; and there are some interesting pictures in it which show how this great man found

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 39.

[2] See Newberry, *Life of Rekhmara*, London, 1900, p. 14.

relaxation and solace in listening to singing and musical instruments. To the famous general Àmen-em-ḥeb we have often referred already, and it is certain that as a



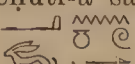
Limestone statue of the royal mother Teta-khart,  .
British Museum, No. 22,558.

soldier and in all military matters he was as expert as Puàm was as an architect, or Rekh-mà-Rā as a judge and administrator. The scenes in his tomb at Ḳûrna are

representations of the Syrian tribes bringing tribute to him for his master; the details of their postures, and dress, and articles of tribute are very interesting, because the man for whom the scenes were painted was a witness of the events which they commemorated, and we may be sure that he followed the artist's work with a critical eye.

Among other important officials must be mentioned Teḥuti-à,  , whom legend associated with the taking of the city of Joppa. This man was a *ḥā* prince, and a "divine father, loving God, and one "who filled the heart of the king in all the countries "and the islands which were in the Great Green "Sea,"  , by which we are probably to understand the Mediterranean Sea, he "filled the treasury "with gold, and lapis-lazuli, and silver," and he was "general of the bowmen," a royal scribe, an "overseer of countries," etc. For some reason or other the character of Teḥuti-à appealed to the imagination of some Egyptian writer, who straightway composed an account of the taking of the city of Joppa by him. At one time this account was regarded as a strictly historical document, and a scholar and Egyptologist of such eminence as Goodwin accepted it in this light unhesitatingly.[1] The text of the document is written in the hieratic character, and forms one of the compositions which are found in the Harris Papyrus, No.

[1] See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iii. p. 340 ff.

500, now preserved in the British Museum; it is written in three columns on the back of the papyrus in a neat, careful hand of the XIXth Dynasty. As far as can be made out from the text, the writer wished to say that Teḥuti-â was a very able soldier who was thoroughly well skilled in the art of war, that he had received many rewards for his bravery, and that he had accompanied his master Thothmes III. on his campaigns in several countries. One day a messenger came from Tchahi (Phoenicia), and reported that the miserable chief of Joppa had revolted, and that he had slain the soldiers and charioteers of the king, and that no man could resist him; as soon as Thothmes III. heard these words he swore by his god Âmen that he would destroy the city of Joppa, and went about raging like a panther. Then he called together his chiefs and officers and told them what had happened, but they knew not how to answer him. At this moment Teḥuti-â said to the king, "Give me the great staff, "  *āunnu*, of Thothmes III., and let valiant "soldiers and charioteers be sent with me, and I will "kill the wretched prince of Joppa and take his town;" the king was pleased with the proposal, and gave Teḥuti-â all that he desired. Soon after this, when Teḥuti-â was in the country of Phoenicia with his men, he made a leather sack large enough to hold a man, and forged some iron fetters for the hands and feet, and shackles and wooden yokes, and made four hundred large jars, etc.

When these were ready he sent a messenger to the prince of Joppa to say that he was sent to him by Teḥuti-à, who was the commander-in-chief of the army of Thothmes III., but who was greatly envied by the king on account of his bravery, and that the king wanted to slay him: for this reason Teḥuti-à had escaped from the court; and that he had brought with him, hidden in his horses' fodder, the staff of Thothmes III., and that if the prince of Joppa wished Teḥuti-à would give it to him, and would come to him with his brave soldiers and hold himself and them at his disposal. The prince of Joppa replied graciously and invited Teḥuti-à, whom he knew well by reputation, to come to Joppa, and promised to be a brother to him. When Teḥuti-à arrived, the prince of Joppa with his wives and children went out to meet him, and when they met he embraced him, and begged the Egyptian general to come into his camp, taking care, however, not to allow his troops and their horses to come in with him. When Teḥuti-à had eaten and drunk, the prince of Joppa asked where the staff was, and in reply Teḥuti-à seems to have asked that his soldiers might be allowed to come and feed their horses, and that a man of the Āpure,  , might be told off to go and order them to do so; the prince of Joppa assented, and when the fodder was brought in to the horses, the staff was found inside it. Soon after this, the prince of Joppa asked to be allowed to see the staff, and when Teḥuti-à had brought it, he

held it before him, and said, "Look, O thou wretched "one, this is the staff of Thothmes III., the mighty "lion, the son of Sekhet, unto whom his father Ȧmen "hath given strength." Then he stood up and smote the prince of Joppa with the staff on his head, and he fell down senseless; Teḥuti-ȧ brought forth his iron fetters for the hands and feet, and having fastened them on the prince of Joppa he placed him in the leather sack. This done, he called in two hundred of his soldiers and made them get into some of the large jars which he had made, and having sealed up the tops and fastened round them the cords by which they were to be carried, he loaded them upon the backs of strong men, whom he told to march into the city, and to break open the jars when they arrived there, and to let the soldiers out, and to seize and bind the inhabitants of the city without delay. In this way five hundred men would get into the city of Joppa. Teḥuti-ȧ then made some of the men of the prince of Joppa go to the master of the horse and tell him to proclaim to the queen that the god Sutekh had delivered the Egyptians into the hands of the men of Joppa, and as the result the master of the horse and his townsmen opened the gates to the men carrying the jars, and so admitted the enemy into the city. Once there, Teḥuti-ȧ's soldiers opened the jars and let out their companions, who straightway seized the inhabitants and bound them with ropes, and put on the fetters and wooden yokes which they had brought with them. Later,

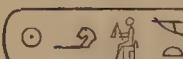
when the army of Thothmes III. came and wished to take possession of the city Teḥuti-à sent a message to his master, saying, "Rejoice, for thy father Àmen hath "given thee the wretched prince of Joppa, with all his "subjects and his city. Send thy servants to come "and take him prisoner. Mayest thou fill full the "house of thy father Àmen-Rā, the king of the gods, "with slaves who shall for ever and for ever bow "beneath thy feet."[1] Such is the story of the capture of Joppa, and it is clear that it is nothing more than a historical romance. It may be mentioned in passing that M. Chabas thought that the Āpure who are mentioned above were to be identified with the Hebrews, but though this alleged similarity of name was as good as any of the identifications which were put forward in the early days of Egyptology, it was not accepted by capable scholars, and is now regarded merely as an example of the effort which was made at that time to find Biblical names in the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

7.  RĀ-ĀA-KHEPERU, son of the Sun, ÀMEN-ḤETEP, god, prince of Thebes.

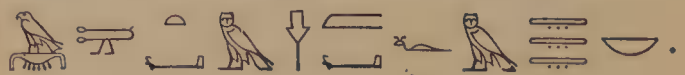
[1] The incidents of the story are placed in a connected form by M. Maspero in his *Contes Égyptiens*, p. 87.



KA-NEKHT, UR PEH-PEH, the Horus name of Àmen-ḥetep II.

ÀMEN-ḤETEP II., or Amenophis II., was the son of Thothmes III. by Ḥāt-shepset, who is styled the "royal wife; "greatly beloved of him (i.e., Thothmes "III.), the royal mother, Hātshepset "beloved of Rā"  , and who was the daughter of the great queen, Hātshepset. He succeeded to the throne of Egypt on the day following that on which his father died, i.e., the 1st of Pharmuthi, but we know that he had been associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom some years before. In addition to his Horus name, "Mighty Bull, mighty of two-fold valour," he styled himself, "Lord of "the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, whose power is "wide-spread, and maketh [him] to rise in Thebes,"[1] and "Horus of gold, who conquereth by his might in all lands."[2] Under his father's experienced and faithful old general, Àmen-em-ḥeb, he had already learned the art of war, and it was, apparently, necessary for him to begin at once to justify his position as successor of one of the greatest and most able of the kings who ever sat upon the throne of Egypt, by setting out on an expedition to Western Asia. This expedition

[1]  .

[2]  .

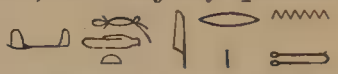
must have taken place at the end of the first or in the second year of his reign, for, as M. Maspero points out,[1] in the stele at 'Amâda, which was set up by him in his third year, he describes how he sacrificed the prisoners whom he had taken in Takhisa,  , a country which lay to the north of Kadesh. An account of the expedition is found in a very mutilated state on a stele in the ruins of the great temple at Karnak.[2]

[1] *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 291.

[2] See Champollion, *Notices*, tom. ii. p. 185; Maspero, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 55 ff.; Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 373; and Erman, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1889, p. 39 ff.

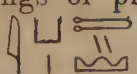


Gray diorite ushabti figure of king Âmenhetep II., inscribed with a text of the VIth Chapter of the Book of the Dead. British Museum, No. 35,365.

From this we learn that Âmen-ḥetep II. marched first of all to the country of Shemshu-âtu-mā,  , where he fought like a "fierce lion," and defeated the enemy, and took many prisoners; the net result was the capture of 18 prisoners alive and 16 oxen. On the 26th day of the first month of the season Shemut, his majesty passed over the arm of the Orontes,  *māsheṭet Arenth*, and having led his army across, he began to march through the land with the valour of the god Menthu; as he was journeying along, probably well in advance of the main body of his troops, he perceived[1] at a distance a number of nomads, mounted on horses, who were coming to meet him, with the view of preventing any further advance on his part. His majesty then made ready his weapons of war, and charged into the body of nomads, and laid about him with such vigour that the court scribe, who drew up this account of the fight, declared he was as terrible as the god Set when in a fierce rage. As soon as his majesty cast one glance of his eyes upon them they fled, and he seized all their goods, and taking the nomad chief with him, he led him to the frontiers of . . . and disarmed him. Among the spoil which the

[1] Erman's suggestion that the king only descried this body of men by sweeping the horizon with his eyes shaded by his hand is probably correct; in any case it is what every traveller in the desert does to-day, and it has always been the custom of the natives to keep watch and look out in this way.

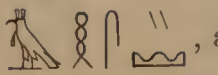
king took are mentioned 12 bows, a quiver full of arrows, and its leather straps, etc. Àmen-ḥetep then returned to Thebes in peace, and celebrated a festival in honour of the god Àmen, to whom he made a suitable offering. It is easy to see that the body of Asiatics that the king met belonged to a caravan, which they were escorting from one place to another, and that this encounter, which was thought to deserve commemoration on a granite stele in the temple of Àmen, was nothing more than one of a series of attacks, similar to those which are perpetrated daily in the East by marauding Arabs, who live by attacking caravans.

From the end of the inscription we learn that on the 10th day of the third month of the season Shemut, the king arrived at the city of Nî, which was very near or actually on the Euphrates, and the inhabitants, both male and female, took up their places on the walls and sang songs of praise to him. Finally a place called Àkathi,  , which until the coming of the king had been in a state of rebellion, became tranquil as he approached, and, no doubt, gave the customary gifts to him. The expedition of Àmen-ḥetep into Syria and the neighbourhood cannot be regarded as a campaign, for there was no serious fighting to be done, because the inhabitants of the cities and the nomad tribes had not had time to prepare for revolt on a large scale, and the remembrance of the tribute which they had been compelled to pay by Thothmes III., and of the swift punishments which came upon them when they tried to

evade it, was too fresh in their memories for them to wish to fight just then. The results of the expedition were rather moral than material, and it served chiefly to prove to the Syrians and others that the new king of Egypt was willing and able to come to the country as quickly as his father had done; on the other hand, the king obtained a large number of gifts from the governors of cities and the heads of tribes. Reference is made to this war in an inscription which the king ordered to be cut upon a stele in the temple of 'Amâda in Nubia, and from this we obtain some interesting details. This temple was founded in the reign of Usertsen II., but had fallen out of repair, and was in a state of ruin until Thothmes III. undertook its restoration. When Amen-ḥetep returned from Syria he went to 'Amâda, and celebrated the festival of the laying of the foundation stone on the 15th day of the third month of the season Shemut, in the third year of his reign, and he formally offered to the god of the temple the repairs which Thothmes III. had made, and the additions to it made by himself. These additions were very considerable, as we may see from the first fifteen lines of the stele. Following the description of these we have the statement that he made this stele[1] "after his majesty came from Upper



; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 65.

"Rethennu,  , having over-
"thrown all his enemies and made broader the
"frontiers of Egypt in his first victorious campaign.
"His majesty came with a heart expanded with
"joy to father Åmen, [for] he had slain seven
"chiefs with his own club when they were living in
"the country of Thekhsi, and he hung them up
"head downwards at the bows of his majesty's boat,
"which bore the name of 'Rā-āa-kheperu-smen-taui,'
"  . Six of these he had
"stretched out high up on the walls which were opposite
"to the pylon of Thebes, together with their hands,
"and the other he placed in a boat and had conveyed
"to the rebel chief of Ta-kens, i.e., Nubia, and hung
"upon the walls of the city of Napata,[1]  , so
"that all the folk there might understand the mighty
"acts and deeds [of the king] for ever and for ever in
"all the countries of the world, and in all the
"mountainous desert lands of the country of the
"Negroes,  , and might know that he had
"grasped with his hands and conquered the Āamu (i.e.,
"the nomads of the eastern frontier), and the northern
"folk who lived away in the swamps in the most
"remote parts of the country." The countries over
which Åmen-ḥetep claimed to have made himself

[1] A large Nubian city not far from Gebel Barkal.

master are enumerated in a scene in a tomb at Ḳûrna, published by Lepsius,[1] and are as follows:—Retennu, Mennu, Ḳefti, Neherna, Menti, Ânti of Kenset, Theḥennu, Pat, Tares, Sekhet-Am, and Ta-meḥt, i.e., Nubia, the Eastern Desert, Libya, the Oases, the lands of the northern shores of the Mediterranean, Palestine, Syria, and Babylonia. The building operations of Âmen-ḥetep do not seem to have been conducted on a very large scale, although his name is found in several of the ancient shrines throughout the length and breadth of Egypt. As he worked the quarries at Ṭura it would seem, as Wiedemann supposes, that he must have repaired some of the old buildings of Memphis, but no trace of such remains. At Karnak he built between two pylons of an old temple a small temple, which seems never to have been finished. This building consisted of a gallery with fourteen square pillars ornamented with reliefs, a hall, entered through a granite door, with a roof supported by sixteen square columns, and a series of small chambers which flank the hall. The bas-reliefs are good, and some of them are coloured. On one of the large pylons he had sculptured on each side of the gateway a scene in which he is depicted in the act of slaughtering his enemies. He repaired or added to the temples at Hermonthis, Elephantine, and at all the principal sites between the First and Second Cataracts, and he caused some works

[1] *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 63.

to be carried out at Kummeh, where he is depicted in the act of pouring out libations to the god Khnemu, and of making offerings of various kinds. The mummy of Âmen-ḥetep II. was discovered in his tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, by M. Loret, early in the year 1898. The tomb much resembled that of his father, Thothmes III., and its walls are ornamented with a large series of figures of the gods and with the text of the great funereal work entitled, "The Book of [knowing] that which is in the underworld." In the tomb were found three mummies, each with a large hole in the skull, and a gash in the breast; fragments of a pink leather cuirass worn by the king; a series of statues of Sekhet, Anubis, Osiris, Horus, Ptaḥ, etc.; a set of Canopic vases, and amulets of all kinds; a large series of alabaster vessels; and a collection of mummies of kings and royal personages, whose names have already been enumerated. The funeral chapel which Âmen-ḥetep built for himself was near that of Thothmes III., and its remains may be seen close to the Ramesseum.

8. 

Rā-men-kheperu, son of the Sun, Teḥuti-mes-khā-khāu.



KA-NEKHT-TUT-KHĀU, the Horus name of Thothmes IV.

TEḤUTI-MES IV., or THOTHMES IV., the *Τούθμωσις* of Manetho, is said to have reigned nine years, but of the events of his reign hardly anything is known. In addition to his Horus name "Mighty Bull, form of risings [like the Sun]," he adopted as his titles, "He who is doubly stable in his kingdom like the god Temu,"[1] "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet," "Horus of gold, mighty one of strength, destroyer of the Nine Bows" (or Pat),[2] "Crown of crowns," or, "The one who riseth with risings"; the last title he often introduced into the cartouche containing his name Thothmes.[3] Judging from a scene which is cut on a rock on Konosso, a little island in the Nile which lies at the northern end of the Island of Philae, Thothmes IV. must have undertaken an expedition into Nubia in the seventh year of his reign. Here we see the king in the act of slaying two Nubians with his club in the presence of the Nubian god Ṭeṭun,  , and the god Khas,  ; these gods declare that they have given to the king all the Ânti tribes of Nubia, and every foreign land.[4] On an inscription

1  . 2  .

[3] An interesting variant of his prenomen is  "Men-kheperu-Rā, prince of Law."

[4] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 69 *e*.

in the temple at 'Amâda in Nubia, Thothmes IV. is described as the "Beautiful god, the valiant one in "very truth, the conqueror (or destroyer) of Kesh "(Kush)  , who maketh the frontiers thereof to "be as if they had never existed, the mighty king by "reason of his bravery like the god Menthu, firm of "heart among the multitudes, crusher of all foreign "lands";[1] and thus it seems as if the king made the raid which the Egyptian kings usually made into Nubia in the course of their reigns, whereby they obtained much spoil. In an inscription, dated in the ninth year of the king, published by M. de Morgan, mention is made how Thothmes IV. sailed into Nubia and conquered all the tribes there and also in all foreign countries, and how Rā made him to be feared like Sekhet.[2] That Thothmes IV. made an expedition into Tchahi,  , or Phoenicia, is proved by the inscriptions on the tomb of the scribe Tchanni,  , at Thebes,[3] wherein he says that he followed his master there, and that he registered the names of large numbers of soldiers [there], and that the king laid waste the gardens and orchards there, and compelled the nobles of the country to bring tribute to him. Another witness of the expedition into

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 69 *f*.

[2] J. de Morgan, *Catalogue*, pp. 66, 67.

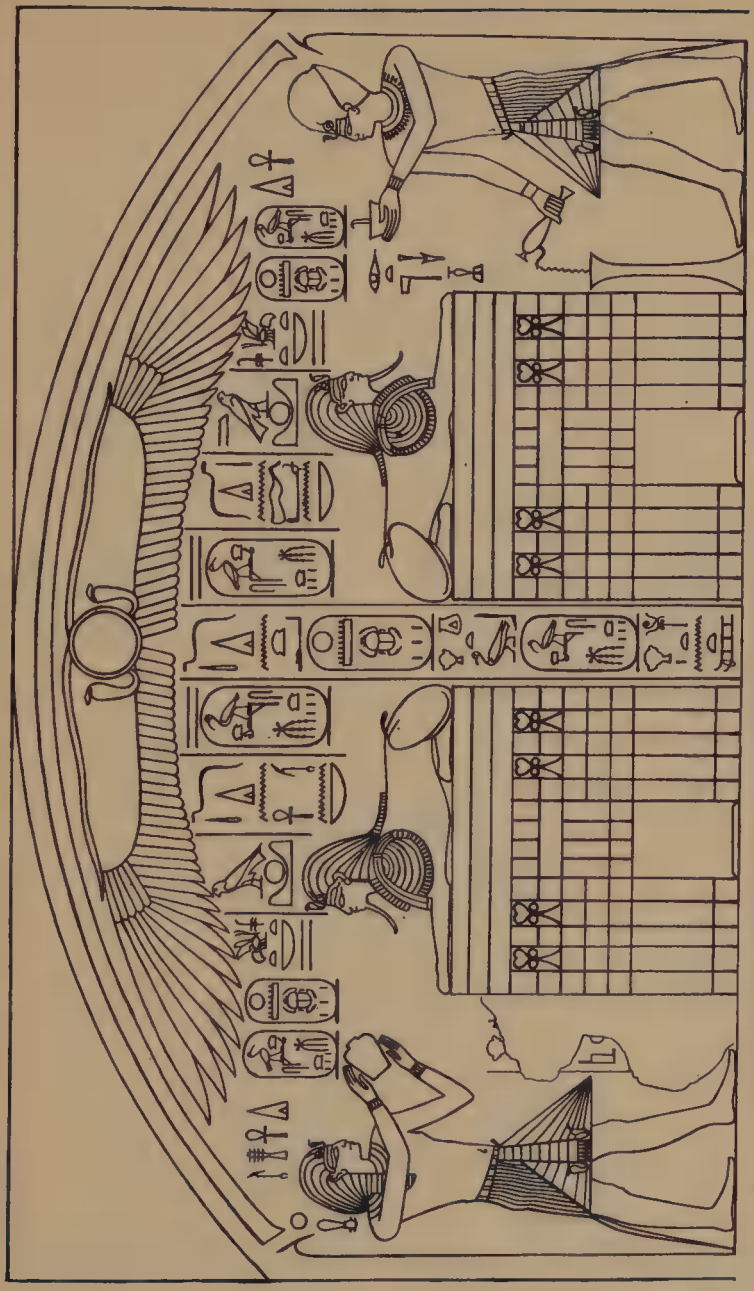
[3] Champollion, *Monuments*, p. 831; the most recent description of the tomb is by Scheil, *Miss. Arch. Française*, tom. v. p. 592.

Syria is the stele of Åmen-ḥetep, the high priest of the god Án-ḥer,  , who says that he was a follower of his (i.e., Thothmes IV.) footsteps in the foreign lands "of the south and north [when] he went into "Neherin,  , and Kari,  ," the two countries which represented the limits of Egypt to the north and south respectively.[1]

The name of Thothmes IV. is found on the walls of the temples at many places in Egypt and Nubia, but his contribution to the buildings of Karnak was comparatively small, consisting as it did of a part of the wall which encloses the obelisks that were set up by Ḥāt-shepset, and the inscribing of a list of gifts which he made to the god Åmen when he returned from one of his successful raids. In his short reign of nine years it was impossible for him to erect a large temple whereon to inscribe a record of his raids or expeditions into Nubia and Syria, and it is probable that he had no great wish to do so, inasmuch as he saw that both these countries had been subdued by his predecessors, and that he was reaping the benefits which accrued through their labours.

One of the works which he undertook will, however, keep his memory green for centuries, that is to say, the clearing away of the sand from the Sphinx at Gîzeh. We have already mentioned in connexion with the Pyramids at Gîzeh, that the early history of this remarkable object is unknown, and that

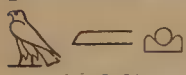
[1] Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, pl. 93, lines 5, 6.



Thothmes IV. making offerings to Ḥeru-em-khut who is depicted in the form of the Sphinx.

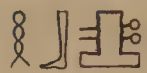
different views as to its age exist; the view held by those whom we should naturally expect to be the best judges is that the Sphinx dates from the period of the Early Empire, and that it is as old as the IVth Dynasty, or older, but a recent theory declares that it was made in the XIIth Dynasty by Ȧmenemḥāt III. It is, of course, a curious thing that no mention is made of this monument in the early hieroglyphic inscriptions, but it is quite likely that it was wholly buried in sand, and that it was forgotten for centuries.

In 1817 Caviglia was carrying on excavations at the Pyramids, and at about this time turned his attention to the digging out of the Sphinx from the sand in which it was buried. In the course of his work he discovered a flight of steps leading up to the monument, and between the paws of the Sphinx a well-laid pavement; passing to the end of the pavement nearest its breast were the remains of what had once evidently been a small open temple. Between the paws of the Sphinx is an altar of red granite, and immediately in front of its breast is a huge red granite tablet, fourteen feet in height, upon which is inscribed the account of how Thothmes IV. dug the Sphinx out of the sand. On the upper portion of the tablet is a vaulted sky, beneath which is the winged disk of Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet with pendent uraei. Beneath these are two scenes in which Thothmes IV. is seen making an offering of incense and pouring out a libation before two human-headed lions, or sphinxes, couchant upon

pedestals, who are the visible types of Ḥeru-em-khut,  , or Harmachis. Between these is a vertical line of hieroglyphics which reads, "I grant that "Rā-men-kheperu-Teḥuti-mes-khā-khāu shall rise like "the sun upon the throne of the god Seb, and that he "shall attain to the rank of the god Tem;" one sphinx says, "I give victory to the lord of the two lands, "Thothmes, who riseth with risings like [those of] the "sun," and the other says, "I give life and power unto "the lord of the two lands, Thothmes, who riseth with "risings like [those] of the sun." Below these scenes are several lines of text,[1] from which the following facts are drawn:—

The tablet was set up on the 19th day of the third month of the season Shat in the first year of the king's reign, and after enumerating a number of high-flown titles which identify Thothmes IV. with several of the gods, e.g., "Beautiful god, the son of Tem, the "avenger of Ḥeru-khuti (Harmachis), the living sphinx, "  , of Neb-er-tcher," the text goes on to say, "Behold, his Majesty was like a babe,  , like "Horus the Child among the papyrus swamps." And, "Behold, he made a hunt in order that he might give "his heart pleasure in the desert country round about "Memphis (literally, the White Wall), and along its

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 68; and for the text see Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 89.

"roads, which went south and north, in order that he "might practise shooting at a target,  , with "[arrows tipped with] copper. And he hunted the lions "and gazelle in the mountains, and he used to drive "away in his chariot [which was drawn by] horses that "were fleeter than the wind; and he would have with "him two attendants, and no man was able to know "where he went with them. And it came to pass that "once when it was the hour for allowing his servants to "rest, he wished to perform an act of worship to "Harmachis at the shrine of Seker in the underworld, "and to make an offering of cornflowers, and to pray to "the goddess Isis, the lady of the North Wall and of "the South Wall, and to Sekhet of *Xoïs*  , and to Set. "Now a great magical power [1] had existed in this place "from the beginning of all time, and it extended over all "the region as far as Kher-Āḥaut wherefrom led the "road of the gods unto the western border of heaven, "Heliopolis. And at this time the Sphinx form of the "most mighty god Kheperà came unto this place, and "the greatest of the Souls, and the holiest of the holy "ones rested therein, and the inhabitants of all the city "of Memphis and in all the towns in his territory round "about raised their hands in adoration unto him, and "brought rich offerings unto his *ḳa* (or double)." One day the king was hunting in this neighbourhood about

[1] I.e., a spell had been laid on the country.

the time of noon, and he halted to rest under the shadow of the Sphinx; whilst he was resting sleep overcame him, and he dreamed a dream just at the time when the sun reached his highest point in the heavens. He thought that the majesty of the venerable god came to him and began to speak to him face to face, even as a father speaketh to his son, saying, "Behold me, O my "son Thothmes, I am thy father Ḥeru-khuti-Kheperâ-"Rā-Temu, and unto thee shall it be granted to sit upon "my throne and to rule among the living, and thou shalt "wear upon thy head the crowns of the South and of the "North, and thou shalt sit upon the throne of Seb, the "prince of the gods. Every country upon which the "light of Neb-er-tcher, i.e., the god of the universe, "falleth shall be thine throughout its length and breadth, "and whatsoever is produced by the two lands shall be "thine, together with tribute from the other countries "of the world, and thou shalt live countless years of "life. My face is turned towards thee, and my heart is "set towards thee for good, and thou art indeed enveloped "by my being. But the sand whereon I have my being "hath closed me in on all sides; say unto me that thou "wilt do for me all that I desire, and then I shall know "that thou art indeed my son and he that will help me. "Draw nigh unto me, and I will be with thee, and I "will guide thee."

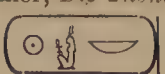
When the god had said these words Thothmes woke up, and took heed to the words of the god, and pondered on the meaning thereof. Then he rose

up and made offerings to the god, and determined to do what the god had asked him to do. The lower portion of the stele from which the above facts are derived is broken away, and the last few lines on the portion which remains are in a very fragmentary state, but the few legible words in line 14 tell us that the Sphinx was made by king Khāf-Rā, and that it was the image of the god Temu-Harmachis. This piece of information is very important, for it proves that in the XVIIIth Dynasty the priests of Memphis or Heliopolis, who advised the king to undertake the work of clearing away the sand from the Sphinx, believed that it was the image of Temu-Harmachis, and that it was fashioned by Khāf-Rā, the builder of the second pyramid at Gîzeh about two thousand years before that date. There is no reason for believing that the stele which we have been considering is not authentic, or that the text on it is not genuine, and there is nothing strange about the king's resolve to clear away the sand, except that it might be considered a comparatively trivial task for Thothmes to undertake. It was not, however, a trivial task, for even in the days when unlimited labour could be obtained for nothing the removal of hundreds of thousands of tons of sand was no small matter, and it must have entailed considerable expense; from many points of view, however, the inscription is of great interest, especially as we gather from it that Thothmes seems at one time to have been in doubt as to his succession to the throne of his

father Åmen-ḥetep II. He was the son of Åmen-ḥetep II. by a wife who was not of royal rank, and the text on the stele of the Sphinx seems to indicate that he would become king only on the condition that he cleared away the sand from the image of Temu-Harmachis, and so restored the worship of the god. From this it would also seem that the priests of Ånnu, or Heliopolis, promised to give Thothmes their assistance, provided he cleared out and restored the sanctuary of the form of the Sun-god which they worshipped, and when we consider that the king's ancestors had been firm and zealous worshippers of the god Åmen or Åmen-Rā, it is a remarkable fact that he performed this work, unless he received great assistance from them in obtaining the throne. It may be that Thothmes preferred the worship of the old Heliopolitan gods to that of Åmen-Rā, and that the priests of Heliopolis, knowing this, persuaded him to help to restore the worship of one of the oldest gods of the northern kingdom. On the other hand, we know that the heresy of the Åten worshippers, which culminated in the reign of Åmen-ḥetep IV., was akin in some respects to the old worship of Åten, and as this heresy was introduced into Egypt by the princesses from Mesopotamia who married kings of Egypt, it may be that Thothmes IV. supported the priests of Heliopolis because their cult resembled that of his chief wife, who came from Mitanni, or Western Babylonia.

Whether Thothmes IV. was the first of the kings of Egypt who entered into friendly relations with the kings of Babylonia (Karaduniyash) and Mitanni (Māthen) cannot be said, but we know that in his reign such relations existed, and that they continued during the reigns of two of his successors. Thus in the Tell el-'Amarna tablet, Berlin, No. 24,[1] Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, says in the third and fourth paragraphs of his epistle to Åmen-ḥetep IV., "Now, my brother, let "the friendship which existeth between me and thee be "ten times stronger than that which existed between "thy father Nimmuriya[2] and myself. In all the "dealings which he had with me he never caused me "sorrow by any word which he spake, and I never "caused him sorrow by any word which I spake; "whatsoever I asked him to do that he did on that "very day, and whatsoever he asked me to do that "I did on that very day. When the father of "Nimmuriya (i.e. Thothmes IV.) sent to Artatama my "grandfather and asked for his daughter to wife my "grandfather refused his request, and though he sent "the fifth time, and the sixth time, he would not give "her to him. It was only after he had sent [the "seventh time] that he gave her to him, being [com-"pelled for many reasons] to give her." Thus we have direct evidence that Thothmes IV. married a princess

[1] Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, p. 51.

[2] I.e.,  Neb-Maāt-Rā (Åmen-ḥetep III.).

of Mitanni, and some have thought that she is to be identified[1] with the queen whom the Egyptians called "divine wife Mut-em-ua  ." The friendly relations which existed between the courts of Babylonia and Egypt are referred to in another Tell el-'Amarna letter, Brit. Mus. No. 29,786,[2] and Burra-buriyash, writing to Åmen-ḥetep IV., says, "From the "time of Kara-indash,[3] when your father's envoys came "to my fathers, even unto the present time our relations "have been friendly, and you and I also are on friendly "terms; your envoys have come to me three times, "but they have brought me no rich gift, and I on "my part also have sent you no rich gift. If I am "refused nothing I will refuse nothing." Thus we may see that in the reign of Thothmes IV. a great king of Mesopotamia sought to gain the favour of the Pharaoh of all Egypt by giving him his daughter in marriage.

9.  Rā-Maāt-neb, son of the Sun, Åmen-ḥetep-ḥeq-Uast.

[1] See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. 28, p. 112 f.; and also Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 295.

[2] Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. xxxi.

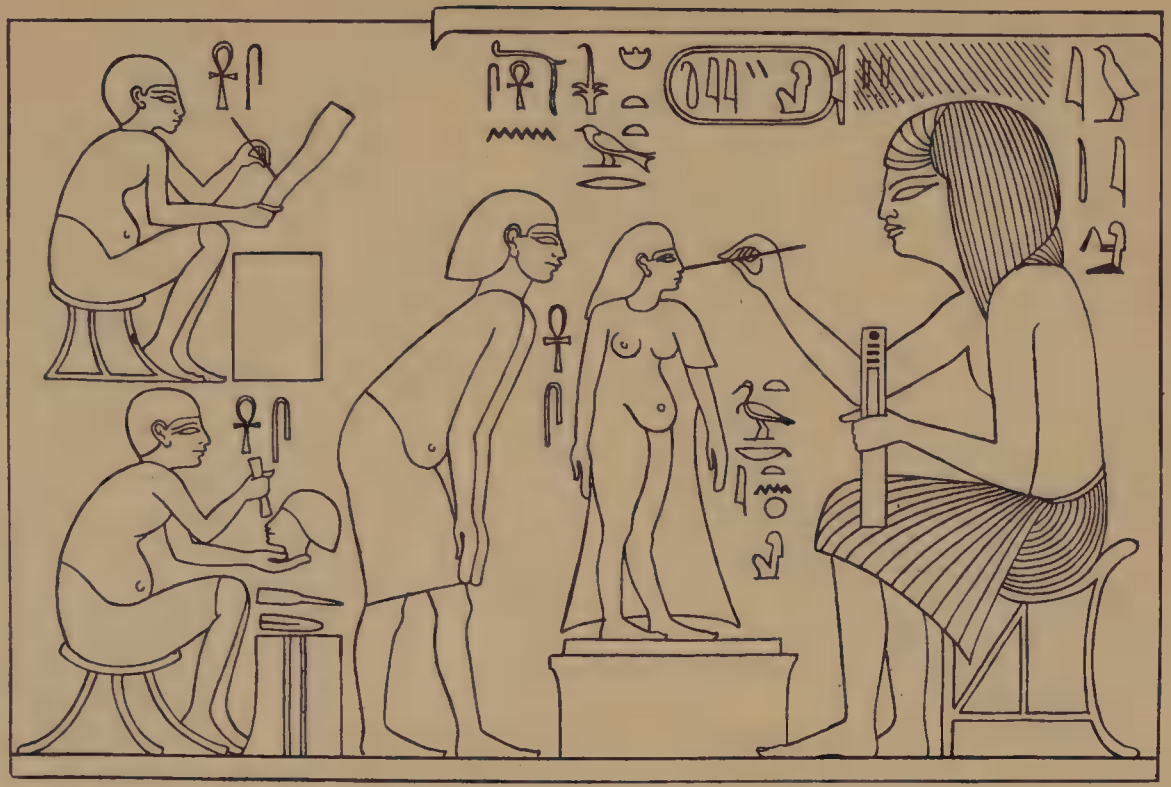
[3] Kara-indash was the grandfather of Burraburiyash.



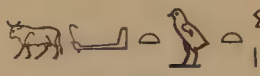
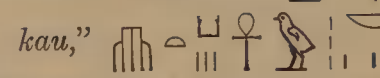
KA-NEKHT-KHĀ-EM-UAST, the Horus name of Âmen-ḥetep III.

ÂMEN-ḤETEP III., or Amenophis III., was the son of Thothmes IV. and queen Mut-em-ua, and as Hātshepset maintained that the god Âmen became incarnate in her earthly father at the time when she was begotten, and was therefore her true father, so Âmen-ḥetep III. declared that the god Âmen became incarnate in his father Thothmes IV., and that he was the offspring of the union of Âmen and the queen Mut-em-ua.[1] Âmen-ḥetep III., or *'Αμένωφις*, reigned thirty-one years, according to Manetho, but the monuments prove that his reign was nearer forty than thirty years. He was crowned king on the 13th day of the third month of the season Shemut, soon after his father's death, and it is probable that he was not twenty years of age. His Horus names were seven in number, and he adopted as his titles, "Mighty Bull, rising [like the sun] with Maāt (or, diademed with Maāt)"; "He who uniteth the white crown, beloved of Heliopolis,"  ; "The stable one of many years and festivals,"  ; "Mighty Bull, whose power is far-reaching,"  ; "Mighty Bull, prince of princes,"  , "Mighty Bull,

[1] Copies of the reliefs illustrating this will be found in Rosellini, *Monumenti Reali*, plates 38–41; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 74, 75; etc.



The royal sculptor Åuthå putting the finishing touches to a statue of the princess Baket-Åten.

the form of risings [like the sun],"

;
"Prince of all living *kau*,"

;
"Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet;" "The Horus of gold, stablisher of laws, subduer of the two lands, great one, smiter of the Asiatics;" "Mighty one of monuments, unifier of the two lands, whose might extendeth from Heliopolis to Hermonthis, smiter of the Menti, subduer of the Libyans, subduer of the Pati, conqueror of the Ânti of Nubia, king of kings, avenger of the gods, lord of Kenset, great god," etc. Âmen-ḥetep III. was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest of the kings of Egypt, and in his long reign the country attained to a state of prosperity and greatness the like of which had never before been seen therein. He consolidated the empire which his great ancestors had won, and although, with one exception, he carried on no great wars, his supremacy was recognized from the most southerly limit of Nubia known to the Egyptians to the northernmost parts of Syria and Mesopotamia. Vassal nations paid to him the appointed tribute unhesitatingly, because they knew that they had to deal with the representative of a power which in the past had smitten them swiftly, hard, and often, and because they believed that representative was prepared to smite them as swiftly and as hard again. Under the strong but peaceful rule of Âmen-ḥetep trade between Egypt and her neighbours flourished, and king and subject mutually benefited by the wealth which was

poured into the country from her possessions in Asia.

During the first four years of the reign of Âmen-ḥetep the peace of Egypt remained undisturbed, but in the fifth year a rebellion of some magnitude broke out in Nubia, and it was necessary for the king to go and inflict upon the tribes there the punishment which had to be inflicted by every new king of Egypt. The centre of the part of the country which had broken into rebellion was Âbhat, a district which seems to have been situated in the Eastern Desert about thirty miles south of Behen, or the modern town of Wâdî Ḥalfa. To this place the king marched, and, having joined his forces to those of Merimes, the "Prince of Kush," he did battle with the Nubians, and defeated them utterly; the sticks, staves, and clubs of the Nubian tribes could resist but weakly the metal weapons of the Egyptians, and the troops of Pharaoh were accustomed to conquer. The booty captured in this campaign was great, and among other things it included about 750 prisoners; the hands cut off were over three hundred, so we know that at least that number of rebels were killed. This raid must have been on a large scale, and the Egyptians were proud of their success, which they described in the usual way by cutting inscriptions on the rocks on the little Island of Konosso,[1] and at

[1] See J. de Morgan, *Catalogue*, p. 67; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 82 *a*.

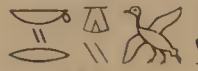
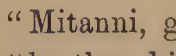
Aswân,[1] and on a large stele at Semneh, in the Second Cataract. To commemorate this success the king built a large temple, with two pylons, and two courts, and two hypostyle halls, at Menen-en-khā-em-Maāt, near the modern village of Soleb, and not far from the head of the Third Cataract; it was the largest Egyptian building ever erected in Nubia, and was over three hundred feet in length. Upon the pylons are sculptured scenes in which the king is represented in the act of smiting the heads of a group of his foes in the traditional manner, and a list of the names of the Nubian tribes that he had conquered. The ruins of the temple buildings are still very considerable, and are unquestionably the best preserved of all the Egyptian monuments in Nubia, a result which is due to the fact that the building lies some distance from native villages, and the people have found the task of carrying away the stones too heavy for them. The larger columns are nearly seven feet in diameter. The use of this temple was twofold; it served to remind the natives of their conqueror, and in time of need parts of it could easily be made into a fortress. The inhabitants of the country, seeing the large figures of the king on the pylons, would attach a superstitious importance to them, and the building, which would appear massive to natives who were accustomed to live in tents and huts made of palm branches and reeds, indicated the presence of a power in the land which

[1] Lepsius, *op. cit.*, iii. pl. 81 *h*.

was to be permanent. This is the view taken by the natives of the Eastern Sûdân of the huge red brick palace which Lord Kitchener built at Khartûm, and it is more than probable that both Âmen-ḥetep III. and his modern representative, the Sirdar, were as mindful of the moral effect which their buildings would have upon the natives as of the practical uses to which the edifices themselves could be put.

In Palestine, Syria, and Western Babylonia Âmen-ḥetep III. had no need to make raids, for the tribute was regularly paid to Egypt by the vassal chiefs of these countries. The relations which he maintained with the great kings of Western Asia were of a very friendly character, and the Tell el-'Amarna tablets prove that Kallimma-Sin, or Kadashman-Bêl,[1] king of Karaduniyash (Babylonia), and Tushratta, king of Mitanni, were connexions of his by marriage. Thus Âmen-ḥetep III. married a sister of Kallimma-Sin, and from the information given in the draft of his own letter to this king (Brit. Mus. No. 29,784) we know that Âmen-ḥetep III. also married one, if not two, of the Babylonian king's daughters. He married, but apparently not with her father's full consent, a daughter of Shutarna, king of Mitanni, and also a daughter of Tushratta, the son and successor of Shutarna; that Âmen-ḥetep III.

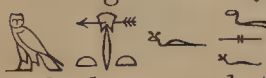
1 This is probably the correct reading of the king's name, but as the reading Kallimma-Sin is now well-known it has been used in this work.

married two princesses of Mitanni is proved by the fourth paragraph of Tushratta's letter to Åmen-ḥetep IV. (Berlin, No. 21). Tushratta's sister was called Gilukhipa, and she is mentioned in the inscription on one of the sets of royal scarabs which Åmen-ḥetep III. caused to be made, in these words:—"they brought to "his majesty the daughter of Satharna, the prince of "Neherna, the lady Gilukhipa,  , and "her principal women, who were 317 in number." Tushratta's daughter was called Tatum-khipa, a fact which we learn from the last lines of the Berlin tablet, No. 296, wherein we have, following after the list of the things, this statement:—"This is a complete list "of all the wedding gifts which Tushratta, king of "Mitanni, gave to Nimmuriya (Åmen-ḥetep III.) his "brother, his son-in-law; he gave these gifts when he "gave his daughter Tatum-khipa to Nimmuriya in "Egypt to wife." But of all the Mesopotamian or North Syrian women whom Åmen-ḥetep married, the best beloved was the beautiful Thi, or Tiii, whose name appears in the Egyptian texts under the form  , and in the Tell el-'Amarna tablets as  . None of the other Asiatic wives was acknowledged to be "Queen of Egypt," this honour being reserved solely for the lady Thi. Her father's name was Iuåa,  , and her mother's Thuåa,  ; she seems not to have

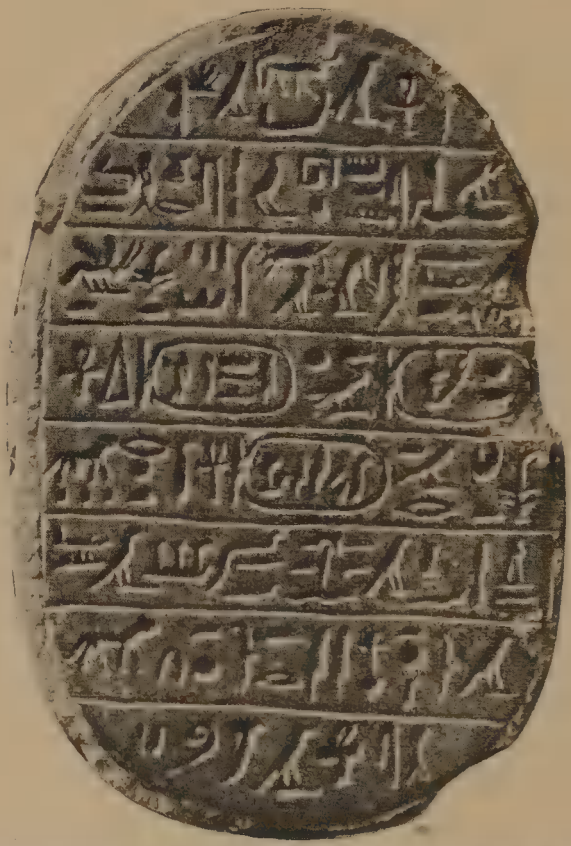


"The royal wife, the great lady of the two lands, queen of the two lands Thi."

belonged to any royal house in Mesopotamia, but it is perfectly certain that she was accorded the highest rank and honour which a woman could obtain in Egypt, where she is described as "royal daughter, "royal sister, royal mother, royal wife, great lady, lady of the South and North." The lady with whom she is identified is represented as having a fair complexion and blue eyes, and she has all the physical characteristics of the women belonging to certain families who may be seen in north-eastern Syria to this day. Thi was the mother of Âmen-ḥetep IV., and of his sister Âmen-sat, and Âmen-ḥetep III. gave her name prominence everywhere equal to that of his own. It has been commonly said that he married her in the tenth year of his reign, but there is no evidence for this statement, because the large scarabs which are quoted in proof say nothing of the kind. These scarabs are of four kinds; one kind is dated in the tenth, and one in the eleventh year of his reign, and two kinds are undated. The text on the first group of scarabs reads:—"Year tenth under the "majesty of Horus, the mighty bull, diademed (or "rising) with law, lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and "Uatchet, establisher of laws, pacifier of the two lands, "the Horus of gold, mighty of valour, smiter of the "Asiatics, king of the South and North, the lord "maker of created things, Neb-Maāt-Rā, chosen of Rā, "son of the Sun, Âmen-ḥetep, prince of Thebes, giver "of life; the royal wife, the mighty lady, Thi, the

"living one—the name of her father was Iuâa, the "name of her mother was Thuâa. Wonders. They "brought to his majesty, life, strength, and health, "Kirḳipa (Gilukhipa), the daughter of Satharna, the "prince of Neherna, and all her chief women, 317 in "number." Thus this scarab proves beyond a doubt that Âmen-ḥetep III. was in the tenth year of his reign already married to Thi when Shutarna's daughter Gilukhipa was brought to him in Egypt. The group of scarabs dated in the eleventh year of his reign gives the names and titles of himself and Thi in the same way and in the same order as the class dated in the tenth year, and then we are told on them that "his "majesty ordered the making of a lake for the royal "wife, the great lady, Thi, in her city (?) of Tchārukha. "Its length was 3600 cubits, and its breadth 600 "cubits. The festival of inauguration was performed "by his majesty on the 16th day of the third month of "the season Shat, when his majesty sailed over it in "his boat called 'Âten-neferu.'" The two undated classes of scarabs repeat the names and titles of the king and Thi in the same way and in the same order, but one class records that in the first ten years of his reign Âmen-ḥetep III. shot with his own hand,  , one hundred and two fierce lions, and the second that the frontiers of his kingdom extended from Karei,  , in the extreme south of Nubia, to Neharina,  ,

or Western Babylonia. Thus it is impossible to tell from the large scarabs the year of the reign of Àmen-ḥetep III. in which he married Thi.



Scarab of Àmen-ḥetep III., with text recording the slaughter of 102 lions by the king during the first ten years of his reign. British Museum, No. 24,169.

The building operations of Àmen-ḥetep III. were many and of various kinds, and remains of them are to be found from one end of Egypt and Nubia to the

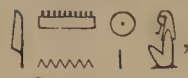
other. In the early years of his reign he re-opened the quarries of Ṭura to enable him to build the Apis chapels of the Serapeum at Ṣaḳḳâra, the oldest part of which dates from his reign, and the first Apis



Scarab of Âmen-ḥetep III., inscribed with a statement as to the limits of his kingdom. British Museum, No. 16,988.

Bull which was laid to rest there was deposited in its subterranean chamber during his reign.[1] Inscriptions in the Sinaitic Peninsula prove that work was carried

[1] The Serapeum was excavated by Mariette in 1850.

on there for the king in the 36th year of his reign, and at Silsila and elsewhere the quarries were worked continuously, so that abundant supply of good stone might be forthcoming for his buildings at Thebes. At Karnak he built a large pylon, and completed certain works which had been begun in the reign or reigns of his predecessors, and he cut inscriptions and sculptured reliefs upon some of the walls of the great temple of Åmen-Rā which enumerate the various gifts that he dedicated to the great god of Thebes, and illustrate the great boat of the Sun which was employed in the temple processions at that period. But the greatest of all the buildings which he set up on the east bank of the Nile at Thebes is the temple dedicated to the Theban Triad of Åmen-Rā,  , Mut,  , and Khensu,  , which was styled by its builder "The House of Åmen in the Northern Åpt," and is now known as the "Temple of Luxor." It was and still is a wonderful building, and must have been the handsomest temple at Thebes. It was nearly 500 feet long and about 180 feet wide; it was connected with Karnak by means of a paved way, on each side of which was arranged a row of rams with their faces turned towards its main axis. It was added to by Ḥeru-em-ḥeb, Seti I., Rameses II., and others, and it must have been considered a shrine of great sanctity for several hundreds of years. Åmen-ḥetep's son, the heretic king Åmen-ḥetep IV., ordered the name and



Heka holding the king Amenhetep III. and his *ka*; above the child are his throne and Ra names, and above his *ka* is his Horus name.

Horus holding the *ka* of Amen-ḥetep III.

Amen-Rā acknowledging his son Amen-ḥetep III.

figure of Åmen to be erased from the walls, and he built a shrine near the temple in honour of Åten; at his death, however, it was pulled down, and the stones which formed it were used in other parts of the building. The greatest injury to the temple was wrought by the early Christians, who smashed statues, disfigured bas-reliefs, and destroyed the shrines in it with characteristic savage and ignorant zeal; certain parts of it they altered and turned into "churches." In the sanctuary at the south end is a chamber in which are depicted scenes of the transformation of Åmen, who under the form of Thothmes IV. becomes the father of Åmen-ḥetep III., and the conception, birth, and rearing of the royal child. These scenes are, of course, copied from those on the walls of the temple of Dêr al-Baḥarî, which describe the divine origin of the great queen Ḥātshepset. At Thebes Åmen-ḥetep III. built a temple in honour of the god Menthu, and another to the goddess Mut, which he provided with a large number of black basalt seated statues of the goddess Sekhet, sphinxes, etc.

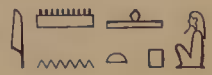
On the west bank of the Nile he built a large temple, and in front of it he set up two colossal statues of himself, which are generally known throughout the world as the "Colossi of Memnon." These statues are made of quartzite sandstone, and when new were about 53 feet high, not, of course, including the crowns, which were several feet in height; the pedestals which support them are each a little over twelve feet high. The

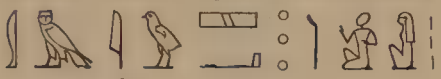
northern statue is the better preserved, and before it was repaired by Septimius Severus it was said to emit a sweet, sad note daily just after sunrise; for this reason the colossus became known as the vocal statue of Memnon, the son of Tithonus and Eos, and brother of Emathion. At a comparatively late period, when the Greeks became acquainted with this fact, they identified the statue with the son of Eos, although it was well known that the statue was one intended to represent Ámen-ḥetep [III.]. The sound, which was heard by many in ancient days, is variously described as the ring of a piece of metal when struck, or a singing sound as of a human voice, or a low soft sound from a horn, etc. Many celebrated visitors to Egypt journeyed to Thebes expressly to hear Memnon's note, but sometimes they were disappointed; apparently those who heard showed their gratitude by inscribing verses of poetry on the statue, but it is a noteworthy fact that of all the inscriptions found on it only one is in the Egyptian language. The upper part of the statue was cracked and thrown down during an earthquake, B.C. 27, but an attempt to make the damage good was made by Septimius Severus, who built on the part of the statue *in situ* several layers of sandstone, after which the sounds at sunrise were no longer heard.[1]

[1] A great deal has been written about the cause of the sound emitted by the statue of Memnon, but every one who has passed the night among the ruins of old stone buildings in the East is quite familiar with the singing noises which detached pillars, statues, and stones emit. I have heard such sounds come from the lime-

The Egyptian official who was most concerned in the building of the temple of the "Colossi of Memnon" was Àmen-ḥetep, the son of Ḥāp,[1] and grandson of Khā-em-Uast, an official of high rank who flourished in the reign of Thothmes III. The inscriptions found upon his broken statue supply a considerable amount of information about his duties, and it would seem that he was the king's chief minister. After twenty-six lines of introductory matter, in which Àmen-ḥetep, the son of Ḥāp, describes his own abilities and how the god Thoth had given him the understanding which made him a most valuable servant to his lord, and an adept in the knowledge of "divine books," he goes on to say that Àmen-ḥetep III. appointed him to be a royal scribe, and that he became skilled in the "book of the god," and saw the glories of Thoth, and knew all the deep mysteries of literature, and that every secret thing was known to him. He then became an orator, and the king promoted him to be an inspector of the people, and he assessed the taxes justly, and did this in such a way that the people who were taxed applauded him. He appointed

stone pillars at Palmyra in the early morning, and from stones in the Valley of Gîrân in the Singâr Mountains, and in mountains between Biredjik and Urfa, and at Aswân and at several places in the Sûdân. Dr. Brugsch also heard the same kind of sound in the temple at Karnak. (*Egypt*, vol. i. p. 431.)

[1] He was also surnamed Ḥui; compare 
 .

inspectors to patrol the roads which led into foreign lands, and to make the people dwell in their appointed places on the east and west banks of the Nile, and they were supposed to keep strict watch upon the nomads called Nemâushā,  he also made men to keep watch over the river ways

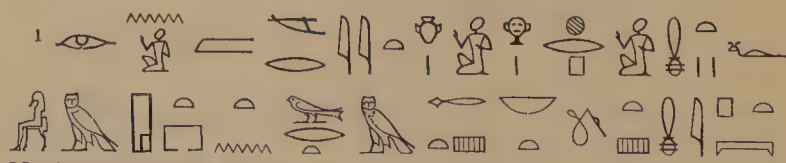


The Colossi of Amen-ḥetep III. at Thebes.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

into Egypt, and he was the captain of the company of men who manned the king's boats for this service. He divined what his master wished to do in respect of the people that were subject to him; and he was in charge of the prisoners taken by the king. In return for all these services the king made him overseer of works,


mer kat, and the able servant made to live the name of the great king for whom the mountains of sandstone had been created. He says, "Through the love "which was in my heart I worked to make his two "images in this his great temple from block[s] of stone "each of which is as solid as heaven."[1] The like was never done for any king of Egypt since the days of the Sun-god Rā,[2] and as each statue was forty cubits high, the pylon of the temple behind them seemed comparatively insignificant; when each statue had been set in its place the pair resembled the gods Rā and Temu. To fetch the blocks of stone for the statues the overseer of works tells us that he had to build eight boats, and that when they were set up the heart of every man who had been employed by him in the service was very glad. The thankfulness which the architect must have felt at the end of this difficult task can be better imagined than described.

Amen-ḥetep, the son of Ḥāp, also built a temple at the place now called Dêr al-Medîna, and by a decree which Âmen-ḥetep III. promulgated on the 6th day of the fourth month of the season *Shat*, in the eleventh year of his reign, it was ordered that the building should be main-



[1] Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 36.

[2] I.e., the like had never been done at all.

tained for all time out of the endowments provided for the temple of Åmen-Rā, the king of the gods, and that the sons of the great architect should be the priests thereof for ever. The king then pronounced a series of awful curses, which in many respects resemble those found on Babylonian landmarks, upon any of his successors who should allow the temple to fall into ruin, or who should alienate any part of the income set aside for its up-keep, and enumerates the honours which shall come upon those who seek to carry out the terms of the decree.[1] In course of time the temple fell into decay, but in the time of the Ptolemies another was built in its place, and the builder of the original temple was worshipped in the new one as a god whose word never faileth. It was believed that Åmen-ḥetep, the son of Ḥāp, was possessed of magical knowledge, and that he wrote certain formulae which he had always used for his own protection; a copy of the words of power which he composed is extant in the papyrus of Ḥeter, now preserved in the Louvre at Paris,[2] and another is in a papyrus at Leyden.[3] In short Åmen-ḥetep was included in the group of divine sages such as Ḥerutāṭā-f and I-em-ḥetep, or Imouthis, and to his

[1] A copy of this decree will be found in Birch, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, pl. 29; see also Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 123 ff. The stele on which it is written is in the British Museum (No. 138).

[2] See Maspero, *Mémoires sur quelques papyrus*, pp. 23, 58.

[3] See Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires au Livre des Morts*, p. 71 ff.

words was attributed power of a most remarkable character. Curiously enough, a mention of Âmen-ḥetep the sage occurs in the tract which Josephus wrote against Apion (i. 26), wherein it is said, "This "king (Amenophis) was desirous to become a spectator "of the gods, as had Orus, one of his predecessors in "that kingdom, desired the same before him; he also "communicated that his desire to his namesake Amen-"ophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed "to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and "the knowledge of futuries." In answer to the king's request Âmen-ḥetep "told him that he might see the "gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers "and of the other impure people." Now the name given to Âmen-ḥetep's father by Josephus, i.e., Papis, is nothing but the Egyptian name of his father, Ḥāp, with the article *pa*, "the," added thereto.[1]

In other parts of his kingdom Âmen-ḥetep III. built largely. At El-kâb he completed the small temple which Thothmes IV. had begun to build in honour of the goddess Nekhebet, and at Elephantine he built a small but most interesting temple in honour of Khnemu, the Nubian god of the First Cataract. This building was comparatively small, and was approached by a short flight of steps, on each side of which, at the top, was a column with a lotus capital. On each side of the temple were seven square pillars, and a portico ran

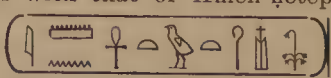
[1] This was first pointed out by Erman, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1887, p. 147.

round the building, which consisted of one hall and a small shrine chamber leading out of it; the main portion of the edifice measured about 40 feet, by 30 feet, by 13 feet. This temple was still standing, and was in a good state of preservation when in 1799 the members of the great French Expedition made drawings of it, which they fortunately published later;[1] but in 1822 Muḥammad Ali wished to have a palace built for himself at Aswân, and the whole building was torn down, stone by stone, by the local governor, who burnt the slabs of calcareous stone to make lime for mortar, and employed the blocks of granite, etc., to make the foundations of the new palace. At several places in the First Cataract are inscriptions which refer to works of various kinds carried on by Âmen-ḥetep III., and the remains of his buildings in Nubia testify to his care for the shrines of that country. The temple of Soleb has already been mentioned, but we may note in passing that the importance which it possessed in the opinion of its builder is testified by the fact that Âmen-ḥetep III. specially visited Nubia to attend the inauguration ceremonies. At Sedênga, a little to the north of Soleb, he built a small temple in honour of his wife Thi, and here may be seen the cartouche of the queen side by side with those of her husband. To Âmen-ḥetep III. is sometimes given the credit of having first discovered the suitability of the plain which lies between Gebel Barkal and the Nile for building purposes, and there is no doubt that he built a

[1] *Description de l'Égypte*, tom. i. plates 34–37.

temple there, for otherwise the two granite lions in the British Museum, and the colossal ram in the Berlin Museum, all of which are inscribed with the king's names and titles, would not have been found there. The writer, however, saw many fragments of stelae and statues which had all the appearance of having belonged to monuments of the XIIth Dynasty, and it is impossible to believe that the Egyptian officers and generals, who visited Nubia long before the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, did not recognise the importance of such a station a few miles from the foot of the Fourth Cataract, whether for a fortress or a temple. The fine pair of lions referred to above, which were brought from the ruins of the temples at Gebel Barkal by Lord Prudhoe, are thought by some to have been taken there from the north by the king who usurped them, but that seems unlikely.[1]

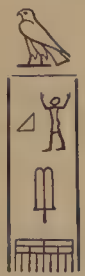
Àmen-ḥetep hewed for himself a tomb out of the solid rock in the Western Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and he appears to have been the first king to make a sepulchre there. The walls of the corridors and chambers were ornamented with coloured representations of the king holding converse with the various great gods,

[1] The king whose name occurs with that of Àmen-ḥetep III. upon the lions is Tut-ānkh-Àmen,  , and in the words "he restored the monuments of his father," M. Loret sees a proof that he was the son of Àmen-ḥetep III., and that he repaired the temples which that great king had built at Gebel Barkal. See *Recueil*, tom. xi. p. 212.

but nearly all these have disappeared. The tomb seems not to have been finished, for many of the scenes on the walls are incomplete, and many of the rooms are ornamented neither with texts nor inscriptions. When MM. Jollois and Devilliers discovered the tomb in 1799 they found in it the cover of a red granite sarcophagus, and several fragments of *ushabtiu* figures; on the walls of the second chamber were inscribed passages from the "Book of [knowing] what is in the underworld." The mummy of the king was found in the tomb of Àmen-ḥetep II. by M. Loret, as has already been said.

10. 

RĀ-NEFER-KHEPERU-UĀ-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, ÀMEN-ḤETEP-neter-ḥeq-Uast.

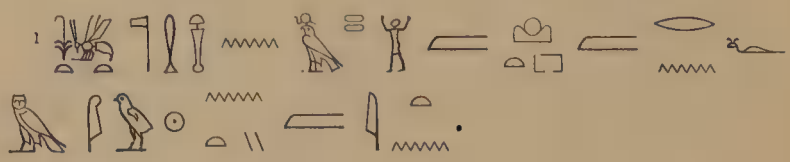


QA-SHUTI, the Horus name of Àmen-ḥetep IV.

ÀMEN-ḤETEP IV., or AMENOPHIS IV., the Ὧρος of Manetho, was the son of Àmen-ḥetep III., and his Mitannian wife Thi; of the circumstances which caused him to be selected from among the sons of Àmen-ḥetep III. to be king of Egypt we have no knowledge whatsoever, but his accession to the throne was most probably arranged by Thi, the favourite wife of his father. Besides his Horus name Qa-shuti, or "Exalted one of the double plumes," he adopted as his titles, "Divine prince of Thebes," and "King of the South

"and North, high-priest of Rā-Ḥeru-khuti (Rā-Harma-
"chis), the exalted one in the horizon in his name of
"Shu who is in his disk,"[1] and "Mighty one in his
"duration of life."[2] It appears that in the early years of his reign his mother Thi took a prominent part in the government of the country, and that she ordered certain works to be carried out as if she were the mistress of Egypt, but there is nothing to show that she assumed a position similar to that held by Ḥātshepset when Thothmes III. was a boy. When Àmen-ḥetep IV. ascended the throne he must have arrived at man's estate, for he was married, and it is thought that he married the wife who is called in the texts, "Royal wife, great lady, Nefer-tith,"

, towards the end of his father's reign. We know from the Tell el-'Amarna tablets that Tushratta, king of Mitanni, gave his daughter Tatumkhipa to Àmen-ḥetep III. to wife, for, in his letter to the Egyptian king (Brit. Mus. No. 29,793),[3] he says in the first paragraph, "To Nimmuriya, king of
"Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love, and
"who loveth me, Tushratta, king of Mitanni, who

1 

2 

[3] See Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 10, p. 42.

"loveth thee, thy father-in-law. With me it is well. "May it also be well with thee, and thy house, and "with my daughter Tatum-khipa, thy wife whom thou "lovest, and may it be well with thy wives, and with "thy sons, and with thy nobles, and with thy chariots, "and with thy horses, and thy warriors, and with thy "land, and with everything which is thine may it be "well indeed." When Tushratta sent his daughter to Åmen-ḥetep III. he sent with her a dowry suitable for a lady who was going to marry the great king of Ḳgypt, but it is most unlikely that such a dowry would have been given to her had she been going to marry a mere prince, whose succession to the throne was not well assured. In any case, in view of such a definite statement as that contained in Tushratta's letter it is impossible to speak of the Mitannian princess as the wife of Åmen-ḥetep IV. only, as some have done, for we know that she became the wife of both father and son. An attempt has been made to prove that Nefer-tith, the wife of Åmen-ḥetep IV., and Tatum-khipa are one and the same person, but it is, as M. Maspero says,[1] far more likely that Nefer-tith was an Egyptian lady and the daughter of some princess of royal blood, whom the son of Åmen-ḥetep III. and Thi married in order to make good through her his right to the throne, which was, of course, seriously compromised by his descent from Thi, a foreign mother.

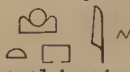
During the first few years of his reign Åmen-ḥetep

[1] *Op. cit.*, tom. ii. p. 317.

IV. appears to have been guided by his mother's counsels, and it is quite easy to see from one of the titles which he assumed on ascending the throne, that he had by nature, or had been taught to have, views on religion which were in some respects akin to those of the priests of Heliopolis. It will be remembered that his grandfather, Thothmes IV., had dug out from the sand the Sphinx, the symbol of Rā-Harmachis, who was a god of Heliopolis, and that his father, Âmen-ḥetep III., had celebrated the festival of the opening of the lake, which he had made to please Thi, by sailing over it in a boat called the "Beauties of Âten," i.e., of another god who was worshipped at Heliopolis, the city where all the forms of the sun-god, e.g., Rā, Temu, Kheperâ, Ḥeru, Ḥeru-khuti, Rā-Ḥeru-khuti, Âten, etc., were adored. When Âmen-ḥetep IV. came to the throne, he called himself the "high priest of "Rā-Harmachis, the exalted one in the horizon in his "name of Shu, who is in his disk;" thus it is clear that he was an adherent of the religion of Âten, and there is no reason for doubting that his mind had been led to take such theological views through the teachings of his mother, Thi. It may have been that these views were strengthened by the opposition which was offered by the priests of Âmen to his succession to the throne, for it is clear that the deep hatred with which he regarded them and their god was not of sudden growth, but on this point the inscriptions are silent. In the early part of his reign, Âmen-ḥetep IV. followed the

example of the earlier kings of his dynasty, and lived at Thebes, though at the same time he was carrying on building operations at Memphis and Heliopolis, and was working the quarries for stone to be used at these places. He was politic enough to pretend to please the ecclesiastical authorities at Thebes by building a massive Benben  , i.e., a shrine which was part pylon and part temple, in honour of the god Ḥeru-khuti, and all Egypt seems to have been laid under contribution to provide for the work. The priests of Åmen must have regarded with strong disapproval the intrusion of another shrine among the temple buildings at Thebes, when they understood what views of the king it represented, for after his death it was taken down, and the stones were employed by Ḥeru-em-ḥeb in building operations at another place on the sacred site.

Whilst the Benben of Harmachis was being built at Thebes, Åmen-ḥetep IV. was planning the foundation of a new capital for himself at some distance from Thebes, and definite form was given to his views on this subject by the growing hostility of the priests of Åmen. The site which he chose for the new city lay on the east bank of the Nile, about two hundred miles south of Cairo, and it is marked to-day by the Arab villages of Haggi Ḳandil and Tell el-'Amarna. The building of the city began in the fifth year of his reign, and it consisted of a temple for the god Åten,  , a palace for the king,

and houses for those court officials who were bold enough to cut themselves off from the old traditions of Thebes; the neighbouring mountains would afford resting-places for the dead, and the king felt that when he had once taken up his abode in his new city he would be able to defy the rest of Egypt. Meanwhile, however, the relations between the king and the priests of Âmen became strained, and this is not to be wondered at when we remember that soon after his accession to the throne the king began to cut out the name of Âmen as well as his figure from every building in Egypt. At length an open rupture took place, and the king found it desirable from every point of view to remove himself and his family to his new city, which he called "Khut Âten,"  , i.e., the "Horizon of the Disk."

About this time he discarded his name, Âmen-ḥetep, because it contained the name of the hated god Âmen, and gave himself the new name, "Khut-en-Âten,"  , i.e., the "Spirit, or Glory of Âten," or the Sun's Disk. At the same time he changed his Horus name from "Exalted One of the double plumes" to "Mighty Bull, beloved of Âten," and he styled himself "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet "and Uatchet, mighty one of sovereignty "in the city of the Horizon of the Sun, "the Horus of gold, who exalteth the

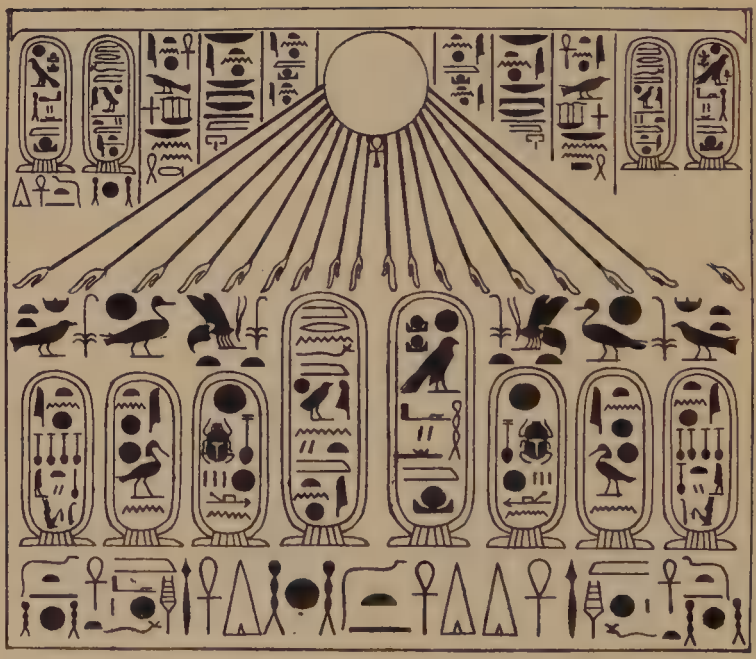


KA-NEKHT-ÂTEN-MERI, the Horus name of Khut-en-Âten.

"name of the Disk, the king of the South and North, "living in Maāt, the lord of the two lands, the lord of "crowns." The break was now complete, and Àmenḥetep IV. settled down to worship his god Àten in his own way in the city "Horizon of Àten."

Much has been written about the worship and creed of Àten, but as the inscriptions do not give us any definite information on the subject, a great deal of theorizing is made to take the place of fact. The worship of Àten was a very old one in Egypt, and its original home was Heliopolis, but it had never provoked the enmity of the Egyptians, who tolerated it and were tolerated by its priests. The worship of Àten as understood by Àmenḥetep IV. was, however, a very different thing, for whereas the old Àten worship was tolerant, the new Àten worship was not, for had it been tolerant the king would have betaken himself to Heliopolis, where the priests would have received him gladly. It is clear from the reliefs which have been found at the city Khut-Àten, that the god Àten was regarded as the giver of life, and the source of all life on this earth, and that his symbol was the light, or fire, or both, of the Sun; Àten was the physical body of the Sun, and the creed of Àten ascribed to the god a monotheistic character or oneness of which it denied the existence in any other god. This being so, the new religion could not absorb or be absorbed by any other, and similarly, Àten could not absorb or be absorbed by the other gods of Egypt, because he had nothing in common with

them. Attempts have been made to prove that the Àten worship resembled that of the monotheistic worship of the Hebrews, and to show that Àten is only another form of the name Adôn, a Semitic word which is usually rendered "lord," but as far as can be seen now



The rays of Àten, which terminate in human hands, shining upon the cartouches of Àmen-ḥetep IV. and his wife Nefertith.

the worship of Àten was something like a glorified materialism, which had to be expounded by priests, who performed ceremonies similar to those which belonged to the old Heliopolitan sun-worship, without any connexion whatsoever with the worship of Yahweh,

and a being of the character of the Semitic god Adôn had no place in it anywhere. In so far as it rejected all other gods, the Áten religion was monotheistic, but to judge by the texts which describe the power



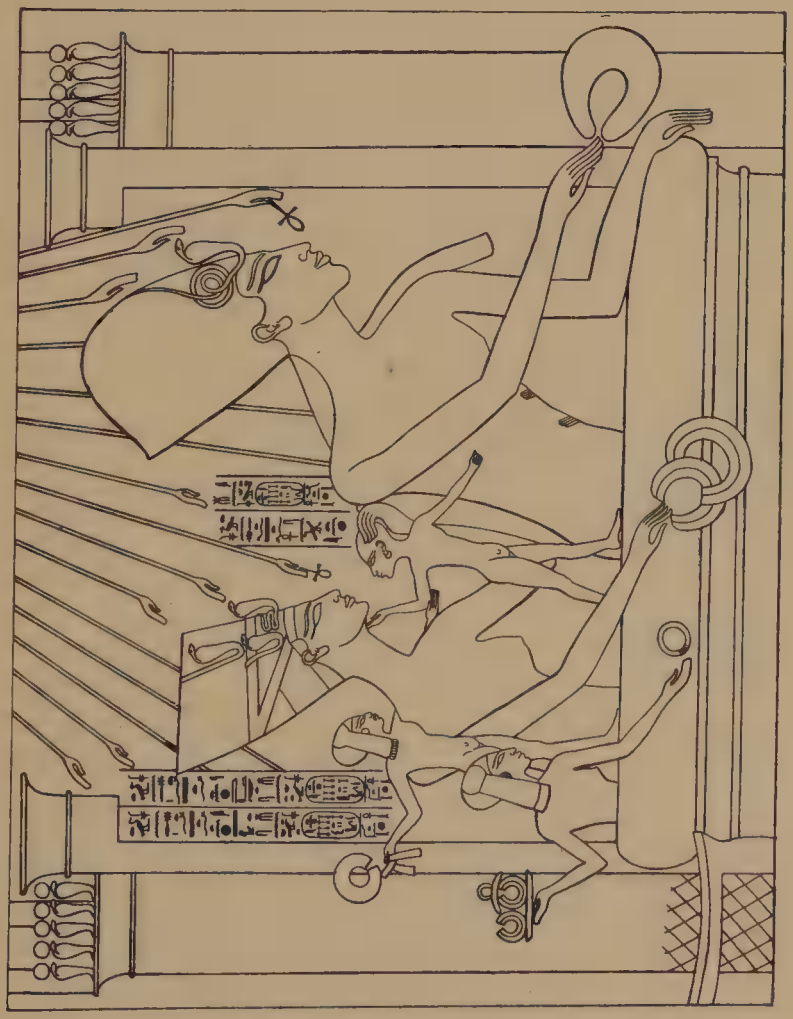
The rays of Áten bestowing "life" ☥ and "sovereignty" 𓋴 upon Ámen-ḥetep IV.

and works of Áten, it contained no doctrines on the unity or oneness of Áten similar to those which are found in the hymns to Rā, and none of the beautiful ideas on the future life, with which we are familiar

from the hymns and other compositions in the *Book of the Dead*.

The temple of Àten was called Ḥet Benben,  , and was a very large building, but it was never finished, as far as the ornamentation of the walls is concerned; in its courts were altars on which incense was burnt and offerings were laid, and it is possible that the idea of the altar was suggested to the architect Bek, the son of Men, by the altar which the great queen Ḥātshepset had erected in her temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî.[1] It is an interesting fact that no sacrifices of any kind were offered up, either on the queen's altar or on the altars of her successors, and it must be noted that the queen says in her inscription on her altar that she built it for her father Rā-Harmachis,  , and that Rā-Harmachis was the one ancient god of the Egyptians whom Àmen-ḥetep IV. delighted to honour. The high priest of the temple at Khut-Àten was made to adopt the old title of the high priest of Rā at Heliopolis, i.e., Ur-maâu,  , and in many respects the new worship was carried on in the temple by means of many of the old forms and ceremonies of the Heliopolitan priesthood; on stated occasions, however, the king himself officiated.

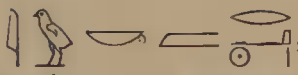
[1] This altar measures 16 feet by 13 feet by 5 feet, and its top is reached by a flight of ten steps at the western end; it was excavated by Naville. *Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, pt. i. p. 8.



Âmen-ḥetep IV. and his wife and daughters bestowing collars and rings upon favourite courtiers.

Meanwhile the new city Khut-Åten prospered and grew, and many wealthy people and nobles who had become terrified at the growth of the power of the priests of Åmen left Thebes and took up their abode there; a number of court officials naturally followed their king, and as the new canon of art, which he proclaimed and patronized, gave abundant employment to sculptors and artists of every kind, to say nothing of the skilled workmen who were needed for the carrying out of his projects, the city soon became well populated. The houses were beautifully decorated, and many of them had plaster pavements, which were ornamented with unusually artistic designs and patterns;[1] large gardens full of choice plants and rare trees were laid out, not only in the grounds of the palace, but also in the houses of high officials, and the architect Bek and his workmen spared no pains in making the new city beautiful in every sense of the word. The artists threw off many of the old trammels and conventionalities of their profession, and indulged themselves in new designs, new forms, new colours, and new treatment of the subjects which they wished to represent. Indeed it is to the buildings of the city of Khut-Åten and their decorations that we owe many of the ideas of the possibilities of Egyptian art; the art of the period is characterized by a freedom and a naturalism which is never before or after met with in Egyptian history.

[1] A number of these were uncovered by Prof. Petrie in the course of his excavations at Tell el-'Åmarna.

And as the king Khu-en-Àten adopted a style of art different from any which had been employed by his predecessors, so the texts which he inscribed upon the walls of his buildings were of a character different from those with which we are familiar from the monuments of an earlier period. The subject of most of his inscriptions is Àten, whose glory and power he was never tired of proclaiming, and a good illustration of the terms which he employed in his praises of the god will be found in a hymn which has been twice published in recent years.[1] In this we find that Àten is said to exist in the form of Rā,  , and that he is called the "living Àten, the beginning of life,"  . When Àten resteth in the west the land is dark, men sleep in their houses, no eye can see, and the lions come forth from their dens, and the creeping things bite; these last statements find parallels in Psalm civ. 20. When Àten riseth men wake up, and wash, and dress, and praise him, and then "go forth to their labours;" all creatures rouse themselves joyfully. It is Àten who turneth the seed of man into men and women, and it is he who giveth life to the son in the body of his mother,  , and

[1] First by Bouriant in *Mémoires de la Mission*, tom. i. p. 2 ff., and later by Mr. Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem sub rege Amenophide IV conceptis*, Berlin (no date).

who bringeth him forth a perfect being at the appointed time. Âten is the creator of all living things, and of all men of whatever language and colour, and of the Nile; in short, Âten, and Âten only, is praised as the creator of material things, and the sun is Âten, and all people were called upon to adore him.

We have seen that when Âmen-ḥetep IV. finally declared himself in favour of Âten as opposed to Âmen-Rā, he changed his name from Âmen-ḥetep to Khu-en-Âten, and it must now be noted that the form and figure of the king as depicted in bas-reliefs also changed. In the earlier monuments of his reign he is represented as possessing the typical features of his father and others of his ancestors, but at Tell el-'Amarna his physical characteristics are entirely different. Here he is portrayed with a very high, narrow, and receding forehead, a large, sharp, aquiline nose, a thin, weak mouth, and a large projecting chin, and his head is set upon a long and extremely slender neck; his chest is rounded, his stomach inflated, and his thighs are large and broad, and in many respects his figure resembles that of a woman. It is impossible that such representations of the king would be permitted to appear in bas-reliefs in his city unless the king approved of them, and it is clear that he did approve, and that his officials understood that he approved of this treatment of his person at the hands of sculptors and artists, for some of the high officials were themselves represented in the same manner. Still, some of the drawings of



Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. and his wife and daughters seated with the rays of Ȧten falling upon them.

the king must be regarded as caricatures, but whether intentional or otherwise cannot be said. Some have thought that the features given to the king by the artists were in some way supposed to be connected with the views held by the worshippers of Àten, and it has also been suggested that he was a eunuch,[1] but for neither suggestion is there any satisfactory ground.

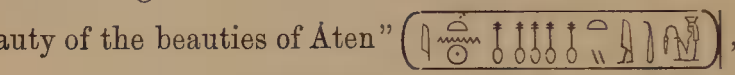
During Khu-en-Àten's comparatively short reign of less than twenty years the whole of the king's energies seems to have been expended in superintending the building of his city, and in developing the worship of Àten. With the view of furthering the latter he built small temples at Heliopolis, and Memphis, and other ancient cities, but of these very few remains have been found. War seems to have been abhorred by him, for we do not hear even of the old familiar raids into Nubia, which nearly every Egyptian king was obliged to make as soon as he came to the throne; on the other hand, we learn from the tomb of Ḥuia,[2]  , the king's treasurer, that in the

[1] "Est is vermutet worden, der König sei bei einem Feldzuge "entmannt worden, und habe so die charakteristischen Züge der "Eunuchen angenommen; dem widerspricht es jedoch dass "derselbe sieben Töchter besass und demzufolge die Entmannung "erst ein vorgeschrittetenen alterhätte erfolgt sein können, wo "dieselbe auf die Aenderung der Physiognomie kaum mehr einen "Einfluss ausüben konnte." Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 397.

[2] This name is found in the Tell el-'Amarna letter, Berlin, No. 6, under the form  .

twelfth year of his master's reign he brought tribute from Syria, and the Islands of the Great Green, i.e., the Mediterranean Sea, and Nubia. If we consider the amount of exact information concerning the condition of the rising in Syria at this time we shall see at once that Ḥuia was an ambassador who spoke smooth words, for that Syria, or any other of the possessions of Egypt, paid during the reign of Khu-en-Åten tribute in the way in which the older kings understood the expression, it is impossible to believe.

The mummy of Åmen-ḥetep IV. was found in the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep II. at Dêr al-Baḥarî, whither it was removed in troublous times, although he had caused a tomb to be hewed out of the living rock in a mountainous valley which stretches towards the east, and lies between the two groups of tombs, one on the north and the other on the south ; it is about eight or ten miles, according to the route followed, from the Nile. The tomb is approached by two flights of steps and a corridor, and a little beyond the small chamber at the end of the second flight is the hall or chapel wherein the sarcophagus once stood. The paintings are nearly all destroyed, and it is certain that the ornamentation of the tomb was never completed. Such scenes as remain represent people of every tribe and nation worshipping the Disk, or Åten, but many of them were painted, not for the king, but for one of his daughters who died before her father, and who was buried in his tomb.

In all the bas-reliefs at Tell el-'Amarna Khu-en-Åten is always accompanied by his wife Nefertith, to whom he gave the title Nefer-neferu-Åten, i.e., "the beauty of the beauties of Åten"  , and with whom several writers have identified the wife of Åmen-ḥetep III., Tatum-khipa,  , the daughter of Tushratta, king of Mitanni. Prof. Petrie says,[1] "Amenhotep III. was negotiating for his "son's marriage before his death; and from another "letter (9) we learn that Tadukhipa was the daughter "thus married to Akhenaten, and who [*sic*] was known "in Egypt as Nefertiti." M. Maspero takes the view[2] that when Tatum-khipa, who had left Mitanni on the understanding that she was going to marry Nimmuriya (i.e., Åmen-ḥetep III.), king of Egypt, arrived in Egypt she found that the old king was dead, and that his son Åmen-ḥetep IV. took his place and married her. In support of his statement Prof. Petrie merely refers to tablets Nos. 6 and 9, and passes on; but M. Maspero to prove his point quotes the British Museum letter No. 11, and the description of its contents drawn up by Prof. Bezold and the present writer. This letter is addressed to the "Queen of Egypt," and it is generally thought that the queen referred to is Thi, especially as mention is made in it of "Thy son Napkhuriya," or Åmen-ḥetep IV. The opening words contain greetings "to thyself, greetings to thy

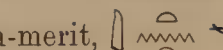
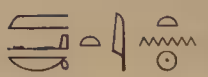
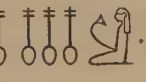
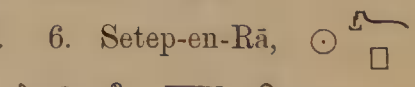
[1] *History*, vol. ii. p. 207. [2] *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 329.

"son, greetings to Tatum-khipa [my daughter], thy "*Kállatu*," i.e., thy bride or daughter-in-law. And in another letter[1] Tatum-khipa is directly referred to as the wife of Napkhuriya (Âmen-ḥetep IV.). But she was not originally intended to be the wife of this king, for Âmen-ḥetep III. had negotiated with Tushratta not, as Prof. Petrie says (*Hist.* p. 207), for his son's marriage, but for *his own*, and Tushratta clearly describes him as his son-in-law, as he also describes Âmen-ḥetep IV. later on. Prof. Maspero's description of Âmen-ḥetep III. as époux prétendu, i.e., as a husband to whom Tatum-khipa was never married, because he was either dead or dying when she reached Egypt, is disproved by letters from Tushratta to Âmen-ḥetep III., which contain greetings to "Tatum-khipa, my daughter, thy wife."[2] It is evident that Tatum-khipa was for some time before the death of Âmen-ḥetep III. his co-wife with Thi, and that after his death she was taken over by his son Âmen-ḥetep IV. That this view is shared by Dr. Winckler, the editor and translator of a large number of the Tell el-'Amarna tablets, is shown by his translation of the words *kallati-k* by which Tatum-khipa is described in Tushratta's letter to queen Thi, already mentioned above, not as "to thy daughter-in-law," or even as "to thy bride," as was done by Dr. Bezold and myself

[1] *Mémoires de la Mission*, tom. vi. p. 302, line 8.

[2] Winckler, *Die Thontafeln*, pp. xii. 41 (No. 18), 49 (No. 20).

in 1892,[1] but as "deiner Mitfrau," "to thy co-wife," i.e., the co-wife with Thi, of Âmen-ḥetep III. For Prof. Petrie's identification of Tatum-khipa with Nefertith no good grounds can be discovered.

The family of Âmen-ḥetep IV. consisted of daughters, who were called:—1. Âten-merit,  . 2. Mâket-Âten,  . 3. Ânkh-s-en-pa-Âten,  . 4. Nefer-neferu-Âten-ta-sherâ,  . 5. Nefer-neferu-Rā,  . 6. Setep-en-Rā,  . 7. Âten-Baket,  . These names mean, "Beloved of Âten," "Virtue (or, protection) of Âten," "Âten is her life," "Beauty of the beauties of Âten the Less,"[2] "Beauty of the beauties of Rā,"

[1] The word *kallatum* means in the Semitic dialects "bride," and also "daughter-in-law," a fact proved by several passages in the Cuneiform inscriptions, e.g., the goddess Tashmetum is called *kallatum rabitum*, "great bride"; Night is called *kallatum kuttumtum*, "the veiled Bride"; and elsewhere we have, *Itti emeti kallati iprusu, itti kallati emeti iprusu*, "he hath set the mother-in-law at variance with the daughter-in-law, he hath set the daughter-in-law at variance with the mother-in-law." See *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, iv. pll. 49, obv. 2; 51, 1, 26, 27; 52, 41. Dr. Winckler obtains his translation *Mitfrau* from the meaning "bride."

[2] The words "the Less" are added to distinguish her from her mother.

"Chosen one of Rā," "Servant of Åten." The eldest daughter died before her father, and some of her sisters married husbands who, in turn, succeeded to the throne.

One of the most interesting subjects for study in



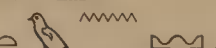
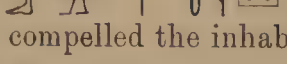
Åmen-ḥetep IV. seated upon his portable throne beneath the rays of Åten whilst attendants fan him.

connexion with the reign of Åmen-ḥetep IV., or Khu-en-Åten, is the correspondence which was carried on between him and the kings and governors of Western Asia, and which is revealed to us by the Tell el-'Amarna letters; it is, however, most unfortunate that we have not copies

of the despatches which were sent by the king of Egypt to his vassal princes and governors in Palestine and Syria, and to the kings of the independent kingdoms of Assyria, Babylonia, and Mitanni. In a separate chapter a brief sketch of the contents of the letters from Western Asia is given, but a few paragraphs must be devoted to a consideration of the state to which the possessions of Egypt in Palestine and Syria had been brought by the incapacity of Åmen-ḥetep IV. His grandfather Thothmes IV. had married a wife from Western Babylonia, and his father Åmen-ḥetep III. had married a sister and a daughter of Kallimma-Sin (Kadashman-Bêl), king of Karaduniyash, a daughter of Shutarna, king of Mitanni, and a daughter of Tushratta, king of Mitanni; thus Åmen-ḥetep IV. was connected with the greatest of the royal houses of Western Babylonia, and the heads of those houses were anxious to continue with him the friendly relations which they had enjoyed with his fathers. Besides this, Ashur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, was quite prepared to do business with him, and clearly had no wish to become involved in war with Egypt; and as far as regards Syria and Palestine, its vassal kings and princes would have paid to the son the tribute which they had paid to the father, had the son taken the pains to journey into their lands and to show them that he was a capable successor to his father. This, however, Åmen-ḥetep IV. did not do, for there is no mention in the inscriptions of a war or expedition of any kind having been undertaken during his reign; had he occupied his

mind after the manner of his fathers we should probably have heard little about the heresy of Åten, or of the worshipping of the Disk. It seems that Åmen-ḥetep IV. began to build his city Khut-Åten in the fourth year of his reign, and therefore the strife between the priests of Åmen and himself must have assumed large proportions earlier; in any case, from the fourth year of his reign to its end he had neither the time nor the opportunity of attending to the affairs of his empire.

As soon as the peoples of Palestine and Syria learned how he was spending his time they became restless, especially as they found themselves in a difficult position. That they had no great love for the rule of Egypt is shown by the fact that they never lost an opportunity of rebelling against her king, but now they began to realize that she was not strong enough either to make them pay tribute as of old or to protect them against the growing power of the peoples of the Kheta,  , who had forced their way towards the south and were threatening the independence of the tribes of Northern Syria. The Egyptian officials, who journeyed from place to place throughout the country and administered many parts of it for their master, also found themselves in a difficult position, for they soon perceived how weak his rule was becoming, and that they were powerless to enforce their commands. Before many years had passed nearly all the country of Palestine and Syria was in a state of revolt, for the

great princes attacked each other, and city after city fell into the hands of its enemies, the king's caravans were openly plundered on their way to Egypt, the mercenary soldiers of the Shirdana and the Kashi, who were in the service of the Egyptians, were slain, and the vassal princes of Egypt boldly made league with the Kheta and with the Khabiri. The Kheta, who are no doubt the people referred to by the Assyrians under the name of Khatti, have been identified with the Hittites of Holy Scripture, but on insufficient grounds, and similarly the Khabiri have been identified with the Hebrews. The first possessions which were lost to Egypt were Simyra,  *Tchamāre*, Ullaza, Nî,  , and Tunip,  , and Aziru, the son of Abd-Ashratum, the governor of Amurri, in league with the Kheta, laid waste the whole of the district which was under the rule of the prince of Ḳaṭna; about the same time the country of Nukhashshi,  *Anâuḳasa*, was captured by the Kheta on their own initiative. The governors of the cities on the coast were next attacked, and we find that the Khabiri and the Kheta and their rebel allies captured Bêrût,  *Barethà*, and besieged Tyre, and compelled the inhabitants of Ascalon, and Gezer, and Lachish, etc., either to supply them with provisions, or to attempt to murder their governors.

The Tell el-'Amarna letters, written from Palestine and Syria, all tell the same story, and all contain the same piteous appeals for help from Egypt; they also show that in the majority of cases their writers received no answers to their petitions. Prominent for loyalty was Abdi-khiba, the governor of Jerusalem, who himself tells us that he received his appointment from the "strong arm" of the king, and that since he depended upon Egypt as his supporter it would be impossible for him to act disloyally to her king. In the seven letters which he sent to the king of Egypt he describes how the revolt is spreading, how city after city is throwing off its allegiance to the king, how the presence of a very few Egyptian troops would save not only his own city but the country round about, how Egyptian viceroys were being slain, and how within a year the whole land would be in the possession of the Khabiri unless help from Egypt were sent. In like manner Rib-Adda sent letter after letter to Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. containing information of the progress of the disaffection and the rebellion, and though he promises to keep his hold upon his city Gebal, i.e., Byblos, as long as he has life, he shows that he knows how fruitless all his petitions and letters will be. At one time he pleads humbly for help, at another he taunts the king by mentioning the former greatness of the Egyptian power in Syria, and at another he writes in despair because every governor of every city round about him is hostile to him, and

because each month he sees more clearly what the end must be.

The position of Abi-Milki, governor of Tyre, was a serious one at this time, for he seems to have been driven from his abode on land and to have established himself on the two rocks of Tyre, which were some distance from the city on the mainland. The enemy had occupied the mainland, and had cut off his supplies of food, and water, and wood, with the view of starving him out, and their ships also prevented him from obtaining provisions by sea; it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was able to despatch a letter to the king. The following rendering of one of his letters will illustrate the troubles of this long-suffering servant:—"To the king, my sun, my gods. "Thus [saith] Abi-Milki thy servant, I fall down seven "times and seven times at the feet of my lord the "king, and I am the dust beneath the sandals of my "lord the king. Indeed I am keeping guard over the "fortress of the king which he placed in my hands. "My face is set towards going to see the face of my "lord the king, but I am unable to do so because of "the hand (i.e., action) of Zimrida of the city of "Sidon; for should he hear of my departure to the "palace he will perform acts of enmity unto me. Let "the king my lord give me twenty (?) men to guard "the fortress of the king my lord, and then let me "come before the king my lord, so that I may see his "happy face. I have set my face to perform the

"service of the king my lord, and let the king my lord
"ask his inspector if I had not before set my face [to
"go] into the presence of the king my lord. I have
"sent my envoy to the king my lord with his despatch,
"therefore let the king my lord send his envoy to me
"with his despatch, and I will depart straightway to
"the king my lord. . . . . Let the king my lord turn
"his face [to me] and give me water to drink . . . . .
"and wood for his servant [to burn] . . . . . Let the
"king my lord know that we are cut off from the land,
"and that we have neither water [to drink] nor wood
"[to burn]. I have already sent my envoy to the king
"my lord, and I gave him five talents of copper, a
"wooden throne (?), etc. The king my lord wrote to
"me, saying:—'Acquaint me by letter with whatso-
"'ever news thou hearest in Canaan,' [and I therefore
"say], The king of Danuna is dead, and his brother
"hath become king in his room, and his country is
"quiet. Let the king know that fire broke out in the
"city of Ugarit, and that one-half of the city hath
"been burnt, but the other half hath escaped. The
"Khatti have disappeared. Itakama hath conquered
"the city of Kadesh, and Aziru[1] hath made enmity
"with Namyawiza. I know the evil act which
"Zimrida[2] hath committed and how he has gathered
"together ships and men from the cities which are
"friendly to Aziru, [and that they will come] against

[1] The son of Abd-Ashratum.

[2] Governor of Sidon and Lachish.

"me. . . . . Let the king turn his face to his servant,
"and set out to come [to us]."[1]

The letters which were sent to Àmen-ḥetep IV. by the independent kings of Western Asia also prove that the king was not maintaining with them the ancient friendship in the traditional manner, for Burraburiyash II., king of Karaduniyash, says in one despatch, "Your envoys have "come to me three times, but you have sent no rich "gift; therefore I have sent you nothing."[2] In another he says, "The caravan of my messenger whom "I sent to you has been twice plundered in your "territory,"[3] a statement which proves how unsafe the country, presumably Syria, was in Àmen-ḥetep's time. Elsewhere the Babylonian king complains that his merchants have been killed and robbed, and demands satisfaction from the king of Egypt;[4] Tushratta, king of Mitanni, also complains of double-dealing on the part of Àmen-ḥetep IV.,[5] and judging of the case as he presents it to us it would seem that trickery was devised in the city of Khut-Àten as well as in other cities of Egypt.

Opinions differ as to the character of Àmen-ḥetep IV., but when all is said that can be said on his behalf the

[1] The text is published in Bezold-Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, p. 64, and a summary will be found on page lxi. of the same work; another rendering will be found in Winckler's *Die Thontafeln*, p. 277.

[2] Bezold-Budge, *op. cit.*, No. 3.

[3] Winckler, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

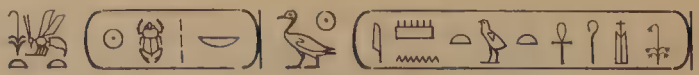
[4] *Ibid*, p. 27.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 57 ff.

fact still remains that he led a life of pleasure in his new city, surrounded by his wife and daughters, and enjoying to the full the dances, and processions, and feastings, and merry-makings of every kind, whilst the empire which his great ancestors had built up with such labour was crumbling away piecemeal. That he had insulted the priesthood of Ámen, and put to shame an ancient god of Upper Egypt, who was identified with the liberation of his country from the Hyksos, and who was the great god of his ancestors and of most of the inhabitants of his country, concerned him little as long as he could act the high-priest to his own god, and declare that Áten was in his heart. That he was a fond husband and father is likely enough, but the spectacle of the king spending his time in heated disputes with the priests of Ámen on a point of doctrine, and living in luxury among artistic surroundings of every kind, whilst his empire was falling to pieces, and his too loyal servant Abi-Milki was sitting shivering with cold and hunger upon the rocks of Tyre, or writing piteous appeals for help to protect his master's interests, is not edifying. That such a man ever sat upon the throne of the Ámenemḥāts and Usertsens is a fine example of the irony of fate.

11.  Rā-ānkh-kheperu, son of the Sun, Rā-se-āa-ka-tcheser-kheperu.

Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. was succeeded by a king whose name has been read in various ways, i.e., Rā-se-āa-ka, Rā-se-āa-ka-kheperu, Rā-se-āa-ka-nekht-kheperu, and Rā-smenkh-ka-ser-kheperu; the first of these forms, Rā-se-āa-ka, seems to be the correct form of the first part of the king's nomen or Rā name, especially as the full form of the nomen as given at the head of this paragraph is found upon porcelain rings at Tell el-'Amarna. KING SE-ĀA-KA[1]-RĀ-TCHESER-KHEPERU ascended the throne of Egypt because he married Ȧten-merit, a daughter of Ȧmen-ḥetep IV.; of the details of his reign, which does not appear to have been a long one, probably only two or three years, nothing is known. On the wall of a tomb which dates from the time of his father-in-law he is represented as king and is accompanied by his wife Ȧten-merit, and from the fact that Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. also appears in this scene we may assume that Se-āa-ka-Rā-tcheser-kheperu was made co-regent some time before the king's death. This successor of Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. appears to have carried on the worship of Ȧten after the death of his father-in-law, and to have made the city of Khut-Ȧten his capital.

12. 

RĀ-KHEPERU-NEB, son of the Sun, ȦMEN-TUT-ĀNKH ḤEQ ȦN-RESU.

[1] In some copies of this king's cartouches we may read *Se-kherp-ka-Rā*, etc.

TUT-ANKH-ȦMEN was the son of Ȧmen-ḥetep III. by a wife who was not of royal rank; he married a daughter of Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. called Ānkh-s-en-pa-Ȧten, and thus obtained the right of succession to the throne of Egypt. He was not a follower of Ȧten, as his name proclaims, and it is a remarkable fact that his wife changed her name from Ānkh-s-en-pa-Ȧten, which she had used during her father's lifetime, into Ānkh-s-en-Ȧmen, thus proclaiming her devotion to Ȧmen-Rā. He adopted many of the titles of the old kings of Egypt, i.e., "Mighty Bull, the Horus of gold, beautiful god, lord of the two lands," etc., and also called himself "Prince of Ȧnnu of the South" i.e., Hermonthis. His nomen or Rā name has been explained to mean "the living image of Ȧmen." The chief event in the life of Tut-ānkh-Ȧmen was his removal of the court from the city of Khut-Ȧten back to Thebes, where he showed himself to be a loyal servant of the god Ȧmen, and set to work to repair or rebuild parts of the great temples of the god in the Northern and Southern Ȧpts. He caused a series of reliefs illustrating the chief scenes in the procession of the festival of "Opening of the year," i.e., New Year's Day, to be sculptured on the walls of the colonnade of the temple of Luxor, which had been built by his father, and he carried on certain works in the temple of Karnak; and everywhere possible he restored the name and figure of Ȧmen which his father-in-law had ordered to be cut out or mutilated. During his reign

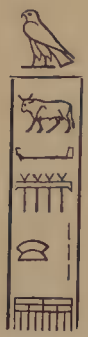
the "royal son of Kush" was one Ḥui  and it is probable that through him Tut-ānkh-Ámen carried out the repairs to the temple of Ámen-Rā, which have been mentioned above.[1] From the tomb of this official at Ḳurnet-Murrai we learn that the tribes of Kush brought tribute to the king, but this is not to be wondered at, seeing that Nubia was ruled by a "royal son of Kush" who had not been affected by the heresy of the Disk worshippers. The scenes on the tomb represent the Nubian chiefs bringing gold rings, gold dust, skins of animals, ebony head-rests, precious stones, thrones, couches, oxen, etc.; elsewhere are pictures which are explained as the bringing of tribute by the chiefs of the people of the Ruthennu, or Syrians. With the evidence of the Tell el-'Amarna tablets before us it is difficult to believe that the northern Syrians paid tribute to Tut-ānkh-Ámen so soon after the collapse of the Egyptian power in Western Asia, therefore it is far more likely that the Syrians depicted on the walls of Ḥui's tomb are a company of merchants, who have come to barter with the Egyptians and not to bring them tribute. We must probably interpret many scenes of "the bringing of tribute" in the tombs of Egypt in this manner. Meanwhile, after the departure of the court from Khut-Áten to Thebes, the capital of the worshippers of the Disk declined rapidly, for the temple services languished, and as there was no one in the palace to

[1] See page 143.

employ the artists and sculptors who had flocked to the city in the reign of Àmen-ḥetep IV., all business ceased; those who settled there in order to be where the court was quickly left the place, and in less than twenty-five years after the death of the founder of the city Khut-Àten was quite deserted. Soon the buildings began to fall into ruin, and long before the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty there was little left besides the foundations to mark where the city had stood. The god Àmen and his priests had conquered Àten, and Egyptian art once again put on its shackles of conventionality in obedience to their behests.

13. 

RĀ-KHEPERU-MAĀT-ĀRI, son of the Sun, NETER-TEF ÀI NETER-ḤEQ-UAST.



KA-NEKHT-THEḤENT-KHĀU, the Horus name of Ài.

Tut-ānkh-Àmen was succeeded by Àı, who seems to have held some office in the temple of Àmen-Rā at Thebes, for he added to his second cartouche the title "divine father;" Ài was not a man of royal descent, but he obtained a claim to the throne by marrying the lady  , who was related to the house of Àmen-ḥetep IV., and who is described as "Royal wife, great lady, princess, great of favours, lady of the two lands." Ài, in addition to his Horus

name, "Mighty Bull, of saffron-coloured risings," adopted as his titles, "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet," "Power doubly strong, smiter of Asia, "the Horus of gold, the prince who keepeth Maāt (i.e., "the law), the creator of the two lands," and "Divine governor of Thebes." The last mentioned title he had placed in his second cartouche. According to Brugsch, Ài was the "superintendent of the whole "stud of Pharaoh," and his wife Thi had been nurse of Àmen-ḥetep IV., but whether this be so or not it is quite certain that both Ài and Thi were great favourites at the court of this king, for they appear in a scene in prayer with Àmen-ḥetep and his wife, who are elsewhere represented as bestowing gifts upon them.[1] From this it is clear that Ài was a devotee of the god Àten, but whether a sincere one or not depends upon the identification with him of the king who built a tomb for himself in the Western Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. The "divine father" Ài, who was beloved by Àmen-ḥetep IV., certainly built a tomb, which was never finished, at Tell el-'Amarna, and a king Ài, who was also a "divine father" and had married a wife called Thi, hewed out a tomb for himself and his wife in the Western Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and there is every reason for thinking that both tombs were built by one and the same person, though at different periods of his life. The first may, as M. Maspero suggests,

[1] These scenes are in Ài's tomb at Tell el-'Amarna; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pll. 103 ff., 111.



The sarcophagus of king Ài.

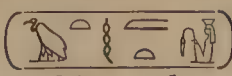
have been made at the time when Ài had no expectation of becoming king of Egypt, and the second when he was actually the king of Egypt; the second tomb itself proves that the man who made it was king of Egypt. This being so, there are no good grounds for not thinking that Ài the king built both tombs. But whatever may have been Ài's views about the supremacy of Àten in the days when he worshipped this god at Khut-Àten in company with Àmen-ḥetep IV., it is quite clear that they underwent a very considerable modification when he was about to become king of Egypt, for he adopted names and titles in which the god Àten is not even mentioned, and he made a tomb for himself and his wife in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings near that of Àmen-ḥetep III., thereby showing that he wished to be buried near the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty who had worshipped Àmen and made Thebes their capital. In the new tomb he placed a beautiful, richly sculptured and inscribed red granite sarcophagus; at the four corners are figures of four goddesses, i.e., Isis, Nephthys, Nit and Serqet, or Selqet, with outspread wings, and on the front is the winged disk with uraei and outspread wings. The tomb is not very large when compared with the other royal tombs of the period. It is usually called the "Monkey Tomb" by the modern Arabs, because on the walls are pictures of several dog-headed apes. During the reign of Ài no military expeditions were undertaken, and it is pretty certain that nothing whatever was done to try to regain Egypt's

lost possessions in Palestine and Syria; we are therefore justified in assuming that no tribute was paid to Egypt by the tribes of these countries. With Nubia the case was different, for the viceroy Pa-ur, or Pa-ser,  , the "royal son of Kush, the governor of the south," was living there, and could make the tributary tribes bring in their usual gifts to Egypt. The country there was sufficiently quiet to enable him to build the rock shrine at Addah, or Mashâkit, or Shataui, near Abû Simbel, wherein we see Ai and a high official making offerings to Amen, Ptaḥ, Rā, Horus, Sebek, and the local goddesses Anuqet and Satet; with these are also worshipped Usertsen III., a king of the XIIth Dynasty who effectually conquered Nubia.

14.  RĀ-TCHESER-KHEPERU-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, ÀMEN-MERI ḤERU-EM-ḤEB.



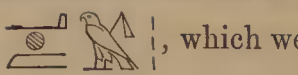
KA-NEKHT-SEPṬ-SEKHERU, the Horus name of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb.

ḤERU-EM-ḤEB, the Ἄρμαις of Manetho, succeeded to the throne of Egypt by right of his descent from the queen Mut-netchemet,  , who appears to have been his mother, though some think she was his wife; Mut-netchemet was closely related to Amen-ḥetep III., or to his son Àmen-ḥetep IV. According to one account Ḥeru-em-ḥeb himself was grandson of Thothmes III., but the

details of his genealogy are not known. On ascending the throne he adopted as his Horus name, "Mighty Bull, endowed with plans, or, counsels," and the most frequent of his other titles are, "Lord "of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, mighty "one of marvels in the Ȧpt," "The Horus of gold, "resting upon Maāt, making to be the two lands," "Mighty one of valour," etc. Of the life of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb we gain some interesting information from an inscription [1] found on the back of a double statue which is preserved in the Museum at Turin; here we have the king and the queen Mut-netchemet, the former holding the symbol of life and a sceptre to his breast, and the latter wearing the headdress of a royal lady, which was originally surmounted by plumes. The text is full of high-sounding phrases, and the breaks at the beginning of the first twenty lines make it difficult at times to form a connected sense, but the principal facts recorded are as follows:—He was begotten by Ȧmen-Rā, who took upon himself the form of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb's earthly father, just as the god took upon himself the forms of the fathers of Ḥātshepset and Ȧmen-ḥetep III. when they were begotten; he was born in the city of Ḥet-suten,  , the Alabastronpolis of the Greeks, and Horus, the god of the city, took him straightway under his protection, and bestowed upon him all manner of physical gifts and

[1] First published with an English translation by the late Dr. Birch in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iii. p. 486 ff.

mental powers, and clothed him in the "skin of the god." He was held in great honour by gentle and simple, even as a child, and every one recognized that he was the offspring of the god and was destined to occupy a most exalted position in Egypt. In due time the god Horus brought him before the king in the palace,  , and he was at once made Re-ḥer,  , or governor of the country. Later he became the Ȧṭen,  , or "deputy" of the king in the two lands, a position which he occupied with great success for many years; the nobles of Egypt rendered homage to him, and "the chiefs of the foreign "nations of the south and of the north stretched out "their hands towards him, and made supplication to his "face as unto a god." At length Horus of Ḥet-Suten wished to establish his son upon his everlasting throne, and arranged that Ḥeru-em-ḥeb should go to Thebes and appear before Ȧmen, in order that this great god might seat him upon the throne of Egypt. Horus himself took him to Thebes, and their journey through the country was hailed with delight by all men. When Ḥeru-em-ḥeb arrived in Thebes he went to the temple of Ȧmen, and was received joyfully by the god, who led the young man to his mother Mut-netchemet, and she embraced him, and apparently resigned then and there on his behalf all her claims to the throne of Egypt; on this Nekhebet, Uatchet, Nit, Isis, Nephthys, Horus,

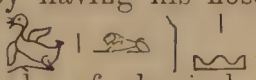
Set, and all the company of the gods raised a shout of joy. After an interval Åmen led his son into the large hall of the temple, in order to "stablish his crown upon his head," and the gods saluted him and besought the king of the gods to bestow upon the new king the years of a long life and thirty-year festivals, and to give him the power to augment the worship which was paid to the gods in Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis,  , Ḥet-Ptaḥ-ka. Thereupon the names and titles of the new king were decided upon, and the remainder of the coronation ceremony was duly performed. The coronation over, Ḥeru-em-ḥeb appears to have left Thebes and to have sailed down the river "in the form of the "god Harmachis, having taken possession of the country "according to the decree which had been passed con- "cerning him from the time of Rā." Next he "restored "(or rebuilt) the temples of the gods from the region of "the papyrus swamps in the Delta,  , "to the land of Ta-kenset in Nubia, and he caused to be "sculptured images of the gods,  , which were "larger and more beautiful than any that had ever "been made before. The Sun-god Rā rejoiced to see "his shrines which had been desolate for a long time "made to flourish again, and where formerly there had "been one statue there were now a hundred." Having restored the buildings and set up the figures of the gods in them, he bestowed upon the temples lands and goods,

and appointed priests to minister in them, and servants to keep them clean, and he provided for their maintenance in perpetuity.

The above summary will show what are the general contents of the inscription on the statue at Turin, and it will be seen that it teaches us nothing about the events of the king's reign; in fact, all that it really tells us is that Ḥeru-em-ḥeb was descended from a family of worshippers of Åmen, that he obtained the throne through the influence of the priests of Åmen, who worked upon the queen Mut-netchemet, and made her to resign her rights to the throne on behalf of their nominee, and that the king performed during his reign the promises which he had made to support the authority of Åmen, and to carry out the commands of the god as interpreted by his priests. The titles which the king assumed indicate that he was a man of some learning and wisdom, and unless the words of the earlier part of the inscription are not true, he must have been a tactful as well as a just man; to please the nobles of Egypt as well as the priests of Åmen must have been by no means an easy task. Some interesting light is thrown upon the reign of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb by a stele, about sixteen feet high, which was discovered by M. Maspero in 1882,[1] when conducting excavations on the site of the pylon built by

[1] See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 134; Bouriant, *Recueil*, tom. vi. pp. 41–56, where a copy of the text will be found; and *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1888, pp. 70–94, where a number of difficult passages in it have been explained by Müller.

Ḥeru-em-ḥeb at Karnak. The inscription upon it is unfortunately much mutilated, and large gaps occur in it, but enough of it is legible to show that it contains copies of the decrees passed by the king in council with his ministers for the suppression of frauds and crimes of various kinds. The king, it is said, watched both by day and by night to do good to Egypt, and he intended to put down with a strong hand the shameful irregularities which had grown up in connexion with the collection of taxes, etc. Then follows a list of the offences which had been brought before the notice of the king personally, and it seems that he punished the delinquents in the same manner in which Thothmes III. had punished men who were proved to have committed similar offences. We see that the tax-collectors seized, in the name of the king, whatsoever they pleased, declaring that they needed it for the execution of their duty, and having once taken the property of the poor in this way they refused to give it up again. The collectors were accompanied by scribes, who made false entries in the government registers, and both classes of officials expected to gain on every transaction which they carried out for their master. When a local Wâli of the day moved from one place to another, his servants seized, in the name of the government, the boats and beasts of burden belonging to any one who had such things, and made use of them without payment. What goes on to this day in Turkey went on then in Egypt, and the poor were plundered on all

hands; on the slightest provocation the tax-collectors would swear that those who had paid taxes had not paid them, and the amount of the rate levied on the people often depended on the good will or good nature of the collector. Ḥeru-em-ḥeb found that it was useless to appoint inspectors, because they frequently became corrupted, and in turn they corrupted other officials who had the power to bring them to book; as a result the king was robbed, and many of the people were brought to beggary. The decrees of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb were humane and just; among others he ordered that the tools or means by which a man earned his living were not to be confiscated if he could not pay his taxes; some slight offences he punished by beating, but an offender who committed an act of glaring injustice and cruelty was punished by having his nose split and by banishment to Tchar,  , i.e., a district near the Sirbonian Lake of classical writers, and a notorious criminal settlement. On stated days Ḥeru-em-ḥeb sat in his palace to hear complaints and petitions, to adjust differences, and to pass sentence on those who had been charged in his court and found guilty; and if the exercise of his powers in these respects was guided by a knowledge of human nature we may well believe that he did a vast amount of good. Many Eastern rulers have established courts of justice on this pattern, but they have usually degenerated into courts of injustice on the deaths of their founders, and done more harm than good.

We have already seen that Ḥeru-em-ḥeb ascended the throne through the influence of the priests of Åmen, and it is time to refer to the great works which he did in honour of that god. His first act seems to have been to pull down the Ḥet-Benben which Åmen-ḥetep IV., the misguided heretic, had set up in the very midst of the buildings of the temple of Åmen, in honour of the god Harmachis, in order to proclaim that he was a high priest of this rival of Åmen, and to insult the priests and people of Thebes. Ḥeru-em-ḥeb destroyed this edifice with great thoroughness, and used up the stones of which it was built for the foundations of the two pylons, which he erected at the south end of the great temple of Åmen-Rā at Karnak. To carry on his building operations here and elsewhere[1] he worked the quarries of Silsila, and on the walls of the small temple which he hewed in the mountain there he caused to be painted scenes illustrating the principal events which took place during the expedition which he led into Nubia. This temple is entered by five doorways, and consists of a long, narrow, vaulted chamber, with an opening immediately opposite the middle doorway leading into a smaller room, which probably formed the sanctuary. On the wall at the southern end of the larger chamber is a relief in which the king is depicted seated on a throne borne by twelve soldiers wearing feathers, and he is followed by rows of

[1] For a list of his buildings and restorations see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 410.

Nubian princes bearing tribute, or gifts. This little temple was hewn by the king to commemorate his victory over the Nubians, and its walls formed excellent surfaces whereon kings and officials under the XIXth Dynasty loved to sculpture scenes illustrating their devotion to the gods, and to inscribe records of their prowess. Judging from the fragmentary lists of names and inscriptions on one of the walls of the temple of Åmen at Karnak, it seems that Ḥeru-em-ḥeb undertook in person, or sent, an expedition into Palestine and Syria with the view of compelling the former vassal nations and tribes to pay tribute to him as they had done to his predecessors, and he claims to have made them do so. In the lists of the countries which he declares he has conquered we meet the names of Alashiya (Cyprus?) and Kheta, and those of cities in Northern Syria, but it is difficult to believe that the peoples there either acknowledged his sovereignty or paid him much tribute. The want of ships belonging entirely to Egypt would prevent him from landing an army in Cyprus, and any expedition which he made to that island must have concerned merchandise rather than conquest. The power of the peoples who formed the Kheta confederacy precludes any idea that they submitted to him, for during the years which had elapsed since they broke Egypt's power in Northern Syria they had made themselves masters of that country. Still, the Egyptians had become accustomed to objects of Syrian merchandise, and any gift made to

the Egyptian king, or even any bartering which was distinctly advantageous to him, was termed "tribute" by the court scribes, who had to draw up the descriptions of his expedition and the list of "conquered" cities, which were to be inscribed on the walls of the temple of Åmen at Karnak.

Ḥeru-em-ḥeb sent ships to Punt to bring back loads of gum, and of other products of that country, and the people would also regard as "tribute" the results of these mercantile expeditions. Records of this kind, however, prove that Egypt was beginning to feel the desire to regain her former possessions, and that she possessed a ruler who wished to give effect to this desire. Before Ḥeru-em-ḥeb ascended the throne he seems to have begun to build a tomb at Ṣaḳḳâra, and from the inscriptions upon its walls we learn that he was a *ḥā* prince, and a *smer*, and that the offices which he held at court were those of fan-bearer and royal scribe, and commander-in-chief of the soldiers. It has been thought that this tomb was built for one Ḥeru-em-ḥeb who is not to be identified with the man who became king of Egypt, but there are many reasons for considering this view untenable. The inscriptions on the statues at Turin prove that the king was of noble though not necessarily royal, rank and birth, and indicate that he was held in high honour because of it. Unfortunately, they do not say what king it was who promoted him to the government of the country, but it may well have been Tut-ānkh-Åmen, who was glad to

find a capable man and soldier to set over the country of the North. The official who built the tomb at Ṣaḳḳâra is represented with the uraeus on the forehead; this proves that he was connected with the royal family of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and agrees very well with the inscription at Dêr al-Baḥarî, which says that king Ḥeru-em-ḥeb's grandfather was Thothmes III. Viewed in this light, the inscriptions on the walls of the temple of Åmen, describing conquests in Syria, may be interpreted in another way, for they may refer to events which took place during expeditions conducted when the king was a young man, i.e., about the time when Tut-ānkh-Åmen was reigning. At any rate, it is much more likely for the high official of Memphis to have been the nominee of the priests of Åmen than a comparatively unknown man, and for the queen Mut-netchemet to have resigned her claims to the throne in favour of a relative of the old royal house, than of a stranger. The length of the reign of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb is unknown, but according to an inscription published by the late Dr. Birch he reigned twenty-one years.[1]

[1] *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, pl. 14.

CHAPTER II.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.—SUMMARY.

The kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty were undoubtedly the greatest who ever occupied the throne of Egypt, and their rule marks a new era in the history of Egypt. With the advent to the throne of the early kings of this dynasty Egypt began her career of foreign conquest, culminating in the formation of an empire which covered the greater part of Western Asia, and which lasted in a more or less flourishing condition for a period of nearly three hundred years. Âāhmes I. completed the expulsion of the Hyksos, which was begun by Seqenen-Rā III., and pursued them into Palestine and captured their stronghold Sharuhen; his son Âmen-ḥetep I. was occupied in extending the southern rather than the northern frontier of the kingdom, but his successor Thothmes I. conceived and began to carry into execution the conquest of the whole of Palestine and Syria, and actually succeeded in reaching the city of Ni, which was probably situated near the Euphrates, and set up a memorial tablet

there. His conquests were, however, not permanent, and the consolidation of the Egyptian power in Western Asia did not take place until the reign of Thothmes III. Under Åmen-ḥetep II. and his son Åmen-ḥetep III. Egypt attained the zenith of her power, and the greatest height of her prosperity, for during the greater part of the reign of the later monarch the authority of the king of Egypt was undisputed from the Fourth Cataract on the Nile in the south to the mountains of Armenia in the north. But this vast empire was not held together by any internal power of its own, and its continued existence depended entirely upon the energy and personality of the reigning Pharaoh.

As soon as Åmen-ḥetep III. became old and feeble the signs of decay of empire began to appear, and the whole imperial edifice temporarily collapsed in the reign of his successor Åmen-ḥetep IV., who is better known perhaps as "Khu-en-Åten," the "Disk-worshipper." Whilst this weak and incapable monarch was engaged in the congenial occupations of disputing with the theologians at Thebes, and in subverting the historic canons of Egyptian art, the empire of Western Asia, which had been built up by his mighty ancestors, slipped from his grasp, and was not restored to Egypt until the reign of Seti I., about fifty years later. The frontiers of Egypt on the south were also extended by the early kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, especially by Åmen-ḥetep I.; in the reign of Åmen-ḥetep II. the

further submission of the Nubian tribes was brought about, and under Ámen-ḥetep III. the whole of Nubia was effectively occupied, the Egyptian frontier having been pushed as far south as the city of Napata, or Gebel Barkal, at the foot of the Fourth Cataract. Here the frontier remained until the secession of the Nubian kingdom from Egypt under the rule of the princes of the house of Piānkhi, some five or six hundred years later. The administration of Nubia was organized in the reign of Thothmes I., when a viceroy was appointed, whose official title, "Royal prince of Kesh" (Cush), appears for the first time in Egyptian history; at first the person selected to fill this post was a great noble or trusted military officer, but later the office became an appanage of one of the royal princes, who was, no doubt, usually an absentee.

The administration of Western Asia was a more serious matter, and could not be so easily provided for. Palestine and Syria were inhabited by a number of tribes which were usually at war with each other, but the people were not barbarians like the Nubians, for they were nearly as civilized as the Egyptians themselves, having for centuries been included in the sphere of influence of the ancient culture of Babylonia, which may well be older than that of Egypt itself. The language and writing of Babylonia had been long used throughout the country, and remained the medium of communication between all the nations on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. When Syria and Pales-

tine were actually under the rule of Egypt, and paid tribute to the Egyptians, the Babylonian language was the official speech of the country, and was used by the Egyptian conquerors in corresponding with their subjects as well as with the non-Semitic princes of Cyprus, Cilicia, and Armenia, who made Babylonian the language of diplomacy. The coast of Palestine was already in the XVIIIth Dynasty inhabited by the famous race of the Phoenicians, who had at that time attained the position of merchants, and carriers by sea, which they always afterwards retained. Many passages in the Tell el-'Amarna tablets show us that in the XVth century B.C. they already possessed fleets of merchant ships, and we know from a fresco in a Theban tomb[1] that the importers of objects of curiosity and value from the northern countries into Egypt were Phoenicians. This nation also used the cuneiform writing at this period, for the Phoenician script as we find it on the cup of Hiram I.[2] had not yet been developed by them. They were brought under the control of the Egyptians by Thothmes III., and during the revolt of the Canaanitish tribes in the reign of Amen-ḥetep IV. they proved themselves to be the most faithful of all the Asiatic subjects of Egypt. The Egyptians administered their Asiatic possessions chiefly by making use of the local chiefs, who were no doubt subsidized, and who ruled their tribes as the representatives of

[1] Daressy, *Revue Arch.*, 3ième sér., 1895, vol. xxvii. p. 286.

[2] *Corpus Inscrip. Semit.*, tom. i. pl. iv.

the Egyptian Government to which they had to send back tribute. To the courts of the more important chiefs Egyptian residents were appointed, much in the same way as British officials are appointed to reside at the courts of Indian Rajahs. Besides these, travelling commissioners[1] were despatched from time to time from Egypt to investigate matters and to adjust differences between the various tribes, and high Egyptian officials were often temporarily appointed governors of some disaffected region.

The well-being and fortunes of the Egyptian Empire in Western Asia were greatly affected by the presence on its frontiers of a series of powerful and highly civilized kingdoms, e.g., Karaduniyash, or Babylonia, Mitanni, i.e., the classical Matiene, or Southern Armenia, Kheta, or the Khatti of the Assyrians, Arṣapi, or Cilicia, and Alashiya, or Cyprus. At this time Babylonia was under the rule of a dynasty[2] of foreign kings who belonged to an eastern race of uncertain origin, known to us as "Kassites." This dynasty was founded about B.C. 1725 by a king called Gandish, and its kings, who were contemporaneous with the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, will be found in the note below. Of these monarchs Kara-indash was a contemporary of Thothmes

[1] Compare the positions of Yankhamu and others whose existence is made known to us by the Tell el-'Amarna tablets.

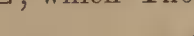
[2] I.e., Agum (B.C. 1600), Kara-indash, Kadashman-Bêl, Kadashman-Harbe, Kurigalzu I., Burraburiyash, Kara-Ḥardash, Nazibugash, Kurigalzu II., Nazimaruttash, Kadashman-Turgu, and Shagashalti-buriyash (about B.C. 1300).

III., and was no doubt the first Babylonian king to enter into direct relations with Egypt. Karaduniyash, i.e., the name given to Babylonia by the Kassites, was at once recognized as a monarchy possessing a civilization as advanced as its own, and the sister and daughter of Ḳaḍashman-Bêl, or as the name has been commonly read, Kallimma-Sin, were given in marriage to Ȧmen-ḥetep III. The intimate relations which existed between the royal houses of Egypt and Babylonia will be found described in the chapter on the Tell el-'Amarna tablets. Ȧmen-ḥetep III. and Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. married respectively Gilukhipa and Tatumkhipa, the sister and daughter of Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, the rival power of Karaduniyash. The immediate predecessors of Tushratta on the throne of Mitanni were Artashumara and Artatama, who had entered into very friendly relations with Egypt. It must not be forgotten that Thi, the chief wife of Ȧmen-ḥetep III., and mother of Ȧmen-ḥetep IV., was of Mitannian origin, and thus it is possible that the Ȧten worship was modified by the influence of the Mitannian religion. The people of Mitanni spoke a non-Semitic language, but they adopted the Babylonian system of writing to express it; it has not as yet been satisfactorily deciphered.

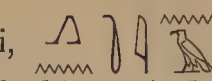
Situated between the rival kingdoms of Babylonia and Mitanni was the territory which as early as B.C. 2100 was known by the name of Ashur, i.e., Assyria. This district had always been under the

direct influence of Babylonia, and had been generally ruled by the monarchs of that country. During the period of the rule of the Hyksos in Egypt a Semitic prince called Ishmi-Dagan ruled in a semi-independent fashion over Assyria, and in the time of Kara-indash, king of Babylonia, Ashur-bel-nishi-shu, the king of Assyria, was recognized as an independent monarch by the Kassites, who were compelled to agree to a treaty in which the boundaries of the two kingdoms were defined. At the same period, however, the kingdom of Assyria was regarded by the Egyptians as a tributary nation, a position which was never assigned to the kingdoms of Karaduniyash and Mitanni, and it remained tributary until the end of the reign of Amen-ḥetep III., when, simultaneously with the revolt of the Syrian tribes against Egypt, Ashur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, not only threw off the Egyptian yoke, but at the same time attacked Babylonia, with the result that he ultimately obtained sufficient power to set a king —Kuri-galzu II.—upon the throne of Babylonia. Henceforth for some hundreds of years the Assyrian power eclipsed that of Babylonia. The kingdom of Mitanni seems to have collapsed soon after the reign of Tushratta, and the country was divided between the Assyrians and the powerful race of the Kheta, who must now be mentioned. The Egyptians first came in conflict with the Kheta in the reign of Thothmes III.; they seem to have been originally a mountain race of Armenian origin, and their home was probably

the high lands of Cappadocia. During the XVIIIth Dynasty their power increased towards the south, until in the time of Ámen-ḥetep IV. we find them occupying the whole of the country round about Aleppo and Emesa. They were extremely warlike and no longer paid tribute to Egypt, indeed they were greatly feared by Babylonians, Mitannians, and Egyptians alike; the disturbances in Syria and Palestine at this period were chiefly due to their interference in the affairs of these countries. The kingdom of Khanigalbat, which is mentioned in the Tell el-'Amarna letters, must be placed in or near the territory of the Kheta.

The position of the land of Arṣapi can be fixed with certainty, and it represents the later Cilicia; its language, at present undecipherable, is written in cuneiform characters, and judging from the name of the king Tarḥundaraush it must have belonged to the non-Semitic and non-Aryan speech of Asia Minor.[1] The country of Álasa,  , or Alashiya, with which the Egyptians at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty were in constant communication, must, it seems, be placed in Cyprus, of which it was probably a part, and in this island must also be placed the land of Ási,  , which Thothmes III. rendered tributary. The Egyptian name for the whole island

[1] See Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 370 ff.; Hall, *Oldest Civilization*, p. 90 ff.

is Inthânai,  ,[1] which is probably the hieroglyphic equivalent of Yatnana, the Assyrian name for Cyprus. The Egyptians imported from Alashiya large quantities of copper and precious woods, which seem to have come from the forests of Troodos.

The extension of the Egyptian Empire to the borders of Asia Minor, and the partial subjugation of the Island of Cyprus, brought the Egyptians more or less into contact with the nations of Western Asia, Asia Minor, Crete, etc.; the generic name of the lands wherein these nations dwelt is, in Egyptian, *Kefti*,  , or *Kefthu*,  , a term which, according to Brugsch, means nothing more nor less than "Hinterland." The old theory which regarded the Keftiu as Phoenicians must, therefore, be abandoned. The nations of the Keftiu were at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty included within the sphere of influence of the early European civilization which is called "Mycenaean," the chief seat of which appears to have been in the Island of Crete.[2] Ambassadors from a nation of Kefti were received at the court of Thothmes III., and representations of them and of the gifts which they brought with them are depicted in the tombs of Rekh-mâ-Rā,[3] and Men-kheper-Rā-senb, two great

[1] This identification is due to Mr. Hall; see *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[2] Evans, *Cretan Pictographs* (*passim*); and *Annual, British School at Athens*, vol. vi. (*passim*).

[3] Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'Art*, tom. ii.; Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 348, 349.

officials who flourished at Thebes during his reign. The dresses worn by the ambassadors are similar to those of the Mycenaeans depicted on the walls of the palace at Knossos, discovered by Mr. A. J. Evans in 1900.

Of the various nations whom the Egyptians included under the name of Keftiu in the XVIIIth Dynasty we know the names of two only, i.e., Sirdana and Danuna, which names occur in the Tell el-'Amarna tablets; the former are mentioned as mercenary soldiers, the latter as having established a settlement on the coast of Palestine.[1] These two nations are identical with the Sharṭina and the Ṭaanàu, or Ṭanauna, who are mentioned in texts of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties; but of the other nations, e.g., Àquinasha, Ṭarṭenui, Masa, Maunna, Piṭasa, Qaleqisha, Thuirsha, Shakelesha, Tchakarui, and Uashasha, who were associated with them in later days, we have in the XVIIIth Dynasty no mention. The Lycians, who were known to the Egyptians as "Ruka,"  , and to the Babylonians as "Lu-uk-ki,"  , and who were no doubt also included under the generic name of "Kefti," were renowned in the XVIIIth Dynasty as pirates, and a correspondence was carried on between the governments of Alashiya and Egypt in the reign of Àmen-ḥetep IV. in respect of their predatory

[1] See Winckler, *Die Thontafeln*, Berlin, 1896, p. 143; and *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1892, p. lxi.

raids.[1] The nation of the Pursathà, which must be identified with the Philistines, is not mentioned in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and at this period it does not appear as yet to have settled on the coast of Palestine. The relations between Egypt and the above mentioned peoples of the Mediterranean at this time appear to have been, on the whole, friendly, and the discovery of Mycenaean objects with Egyptian remains of this date and the evidence of the great influence which Egyptian art exercised over that of the Mycenaeans, prove that these relations were of a continuous and not intermittent character.

The history of the XVIIIth Dynasty shows that the power of the king was absolute as far as the dictation of the foreign policy of the government was concerned; but though in theory he controlled the internal affairs of the country in the same way, we see that in practice he was checked by the necessity of consulting the wishes of the priests of Àmen-Rā at Thebes, who were now becoming very powerful, and by the impossibility of dominating the actions of the large army of officials, both civil and military, who had by this time taken the place of the old aristocratic and semi-independent governors of the nomes. The troubles which accompanied the Hyksos invasion, and the long wars of liberation carried on by the princes of the XVIIth Dynasty resulted in the disappearance of the old *erpā ḥā* princes, or chiefs of nomes, who in the XVIIIth

[1] Winckler, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 87.

Dynasty were replaced by royal officials, all the power of the government being centralized at Thebes. The ancient political capitals, Memphis and Herakleopolis, declined greatly in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and the ancient religious capital, Heliopolis, sank into obscurity; on the other hand Abydos revived, chiefly because it was the most ancient centre of Osiris worship, which at this time was far more prominent than under the kings of the Middle Empire. The temporary transfer of the court and government administration from Thebes to Khut-Àten (Tell el-'Amarna) in the reign of Àmen-ḥetep did not result in any permanent disorganization of the administrative machinery, but the religious upheaval which accompanied it was very considerable. It seems as if the king was obliged to quit Thebes, for the capital was as sincerely devoted to the worship of Àmen as he was to that of Àten; his departure probably saved the country from rebellion and civil war. The episode of the retirement of the heretical king with his whole court to the new palace and city of the "Spirit of the Sun-Disk," which he built far away from the shrines of the ancient religion which he had repudiated, and the strange life of religious and artistic propaganda which he led there, utterly oblivious of the fate of the foreign possessions of his empire, is one of the most curious and interesting in the history of the world.

The history of the development of the Egyptian religion at this period is dominated by the transitory

episode of the Àten heresy. The word Àten,  , means "Sun-Disk," and the veneration of it was extremely ancient in Egypt, or rather in those parts of the country where the influence of the priests of Heliopolis was paramount. The old veneration included no monotheistic conceptions, and the Àten was venerated solely as the disk of the Sun-god Rā; at base, then, the worship of the Àten was of Heliopolitan origin, but it only became a heresy when monotheistic ideas were imported into it, and the sun-disk was regarded as the sole deity of heaven and of earth, the source of all light and life. It seems that these new views were introduced into the worship of the Àten by the importation into Egypt of foreign religious ideas of a monotheistic character, which were brought from Mitanni by Thi, the Mitannian wife of Àmen-ḥetep III., and mother of his son Àmen-ḥetep IV. (Khu-en-Àten). The cause of the bitter dispute between Àmen-ḥetep IV. and the priests was the fact that the worship of the Àten as developed by him admitted of the existence of no other gods; all the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic gods of Egypt were to be abolished, and the sole deity to be worshipped was the actual, burning, and radiant disk of the Sun, who was no longer to be regarded as the god of the sky, but as God Himself, One and Alone. Such revolutionary ideas as these were, no doubt, exclusively confined to the king and court at Tell el-'Amarna, for all the priests and the bulk of the

people remained faithful to the old gods of Egypt, who were restored to their old positions within ten years after the death of Àmen-ḥetep IV., when the name of Àmen, which he had erased from the monuments wherever possible in order to insert in its place that of Àten, was restored by the orthodox king Ḥeru-em-ḥeb. The vigour of the opposition offered to the views of the heretics by the priests of Àmen is evident from the violence of the hatred displayed towards their god and his name, and it is interesting to note that the names of Rā and Ḥeru-ḳhuti, gods of Heliopolis, were left undisturbed by Khu-en-Àten.

Among the religious literature of the XVIIIth Dynasty the hymns to the Àten are characterized by loftiness of sentiment and beauty of expression. The *Book of the Dead* attained its fullest development at this period, when the Theban Recension was finally elaborated. Many of the most ancient chapters had long been unintelligible throughout, and many passages in it had been interpreted by means of glosses and commentaries from very ancient times. The greater portion of the book as it was constituted in the XVIIIth Dynasty consists of the original texts mixed with and overlaid by a number of explanatory notes and glosses, which it is often difficult to separate from the original texts. In connexion with this subject it must be noted that sepulchral stelae in the XVIIIth Dynasty differ greatly from those in use under the XIIth and earlier Dynasties. On the earlier stelae we see representations

of the making of offerings to the deceased by his wife and the various members of his family, from which it is clear that the veneration of ancestors was a sacred duty; in the XVIIIth Dynasty, however, we see that the deceased himself is usually depicted in the act of making offerings to a god, who is generally Horus, and this remained the most striking characteristic of sepulchral stelae until the latest times. In the description of the remains of the dynasty of Àntef kings given above reference has been made to the fashion which grew up in their time of making coffins in the shape of the mummified human body; under the XVIIIth Dynasty this custom became universal, and the old rectangular coffins did not come into use again until the Roman Period. In the XVIIIth Dynasty exalted personages were buried in two or three coffins, and a board, elaborately painted and decorated with a human face, was often laid upon the mummy; this board was, in later days, replaced by a *cartonnage* casing made of layers of linen and plaster, which fitted the body closely. In still later times *cartonnage* cases were made of old papyri, which were broken up and mixed with gum, and so formed a kind of cardboard.

The kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty were not buried in pyramids like their predecessors, but in large rock-hewn tombs, which contained corridors and galleries of great length, and several chambers which were used for commemorative festival services and for the making of offerings. Each king began to build his tomb as soon

as he ascended the throne, and its extension and the decoration of the walls, etc., continued until the time of his death; practically, the longer a king reigned the larger his tomb became. The earlier kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty were buried in the mountain near the temple of Dêr al-Baḥarî, and their tombs could probably be approached from that building; the later kings built tombs for themselves in the rocky ravine, commonly called the "Valley of the Tombs of the Kings," in Arabic, Bibân-al-Mulûk. Of the latter group one of the oldest and most interesting is the tomb of Ȧmen-ḥetep II., which was discovered by M. Loret in 1898. In addition to the mummy of this king there were found in it the mummies of Thothmes IV., Ȧmen-ḥetep III., Ȧmen-ḥetep IV., Seti II., Sa-Ptaḥ, Rameses IV., Rameses V., Rameses VI., and Set-nekht. These mummies were probably removed from their tombs and placed for safety in the tomb of Ȧmen-ḥetep II. in the time of the XXIst Dynasty, when a number of mummies of other kings, including those of Seti I. and Rameses II., were removed for similar reasons to the famous hiding-place near Der al-Baḥarî, to which reference has already been made. In the tomb of Ȧmen-ḥetep II. were also found three mummies, each with a large hole in his skull and a gash in his breast. At the time of their discovery a theory was promulgated to the effect that these were slaves who had been sacrificed during the final funeral ceremonies which took place in the tomb, but further

examinations of these mummies seem to show that they owe their wounds to the violence of the robbers of the tomb in ancient times, who dragged them out of their coffins and mishandled them in search of treasure.

The tombs of private individuals retained a modification of the pyramidal form as far as their entrances were concerned, and the walls were ornamented, especially in the case of great officials, with scenes in which the chief events of their own lives and of the times in which they lived were represented, a very favourite subject being the introduction and presentation at court of the ambassadors and bearers of tribute from foreign potentates and vassal nations. However faithful in point of costume and minute peculiarities such scenes may have been, their general design and treatment were strictly conventional, the old Egyptian canon of art being faithfully adhered to. In the reign of the heretical king, Khu-en-Åten, whose artistic predilections have already been referred to, art as well as religion became infected with the taint of heresy. Excellent illustrations of this fact will be found in the frescoes and pillar decorations of the king's palace at Tell el-'Amarna, where we find plant *motifs* especially treated with a freedom from conventionality and truth to nature which were hitherto unknown, and which are never found in later periods. It cannot be said that Khu-en-Åten's sculptors and painters obtained either greater or less success in the treatment of the human figure than their predecessors, but one great

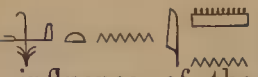
step in advance, i.e., shading in painting, was made by them, though it was, unfortunately, retraced later; it was only during the reign of this king that the Egyptian artist ever showed that he understood the effects of light and shade in his work. With the cessation of religious heresy the artistic heresy ceased also. Some have thought that the artistic development which took place under Khu-en-Åten was due to the influence of the highly realistic and bizarre contemporaneous art of the Mycenaeans, but there is as yet no satisfactory evidence for this view, indeed it seems more probable that Egyptian art influenced that of the Mycenaeans than the reverse. It must never be forgotten that the Egyptian artist possessed a good deal of freedom in the treatment of designs intended for small objects, especially mirrors and other articles of the toilet, spoons, and the like; and in the treatment of animals he had more freedom allowed him than in the case of the human figure, or of trees, plants, etc. The extraordinary naturalistic development which took place in the reign of Khu-en-Åten was entirely of Egyptian origin, and, as far as can be seen now, owed little or nothing to foreign influence; on the other hand, one of the bases of Mycenaean art is of Egyptian origin, i.e., the conventional use of red colour in frescoes to denote the flesh of men, and yellow to denote the flesh of women. In one branch of Egyptian art, i.e., the making and inscribing of scarabs, a revolution seems to have taken place earlier in the

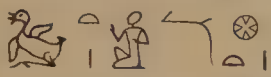
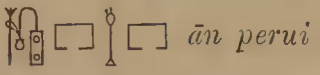
XVIIIth Dynasty, when under Âmen-ḥetep I. the old styles of scarab-engraving, which are so characteristic of the Middle Empire, and are distinguished by a profuse use of the spiral ornament and by deeply-cut inscriptions, gave way to lighter and more elegant fashions. At the same period the inscribed seal cylinder ceased to be used, and the style of the Egyptian hieratic writing underwent a very considerable change.

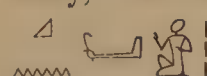
Of the houses in which the Egyptians lived at this period we know little, but it is certain that those of the wealthy had large gardens attached to them, and that the main building stood in the midst of a courtyard which was bounded by a high wall. Of the furniture which was used in such houses we know a great deal, thanks to the tombs at Thebes, from which have been recovered so many truly beautiful examples of tables, chairs, couches, etc., often inlaid with ebony, ivory, and cedar wood; and the fact should always be remembered that by far the greater number of the objects of this class which are found in the Museums of Europe are the product of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and belong to no later period.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions which are found throughout Egypt and Nubia show that under the rule of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty the shrines of all the gods of Egypt were restored, and most of their temples rebuilt, and a comparatively permanent provision seems to have been made for the maintenance of the

services and sacrifices of the gods, and for the support of those who ministered to them out of the gifts brought from foreign nations and the tribute paid by vassal tribes. Ḥātshepset tells in her temple at Dêr al-Baḥarî and in the Speos Artemidos that she restored the shrines which the Āamu, i.e., Hyksos, had wrecked, and rebuilt the altars and the temples which were in ruins, but it must be noted that most of the temples which she built were those of goddesses. Early in the XVIIIth Dynasty the ancient shrine of Åmen in the Northern Åpt (Karnak) was restored, and beautified, and greatly enlarged, king vying with king in adding court to court, and building to building, in honour of the god of the city who had worked their deliverance from the Hyksos plague. Later, in the reign of Åmen-ḥetep III., a new temple to Åmen-Rā was begun in the Southern Åpt (Luxor), and succeeding kings added largely to it. Both temples were under the high-priest of Åmen,  , and were served by the whole body of the priests of Åmen in Thebes, who, although they did not yet control the political and military policy of the country, as in later days, were nevertheless fast becoming a very powerful corporation, the influence of which was already eclipsing that of the more ancient hierarchies of Heliopolis and Memphis. Many women of high rank in Thebes were appointed to offices connected with the worship in the temple, and received titles accordingly, e.g., "qemāt en

Åmen,"  , i.e., "singer of Åmen," and the influence of the brotherhood of Åmen was thereby greatly increased, and it acquired great wealth from the gifts of such devotees. Another source of great wealth to the brotherhood was the share which was always set apart exclusively for the god Åmen out of the booty captured from foreign nations, and we must not forget the profits which accrued to the priests of Åmen from the labours of the lower classes of the order who mummified the dead and carried out all the funeral arrangements in Thebes. We may note in passing that the position of the priest had undergone great modifications since ancient times, for under the XVIIIth Dynasty it could not any longer be said that the head of the family was *ipso facto* a priest, nor do we find that all great officials any longer held priestly offices as a matter of course. The priests now began to form an entirely distinct class of the population, and their position was of a most exalted character; but to enter the priesthood was open to every man, and the son of the peasant who owned an acre or two of land, having once entered the priesthood, might, as well as a son of a high official, aspire to the highest offices of the order, provided he possessed the necessary ability. Reference has already been made to the large class of officials, forming a sort of bureaucracy, who performed the functions of local government, which in the time of the earlier dynasties had been carried out by the local *ḥā* princes, and among such must be mentioned the

royal scribes,  , of various kinds, who were scattered throughout the country; the local governor,  *tchat-mer nut;* the headman of the village,  *ḥā-na-ṭemāit;* the commander-in-chief of the police,  *ḥā-ḥeru mātchaiu;* the chief magistrates or town-council of Thebes,  *uru āaiu;* the treasury scribe,  *ān perui ḥetch;* the tax-collectors, and the officials connected with the administration of justice, the head of whom was the "chief judge,"  .

As the functions of the nobles in the early dynasties were now performed by paid officials, so the command of the soldiery of Egypt passed into the hands of professional officers, and a more or less centralized army, with a nucleus consisting of royal guards,  , or "mighty men of valour," was formed, and had its headquarters at Thebes. This army was under the direction of a commander-in-chief,  *mer mashāu ur ṭep,* and seems to have been divided into more or less organized regiments, e.g., the "regiment of Àmen," the "regiment

of Ptaḥ," etc. A new feature of the equipment of the army of the New Empire was the introduction of the war chariot,  ; the corps of charioteers was called  *thent ḥetrâu*, i.e., "those who belong to the horses." But although the Egyptians readily adopted from the Asiatics the use of the horse in a chariot, they never formed bodies of cavalry in our sense of the word, and though they were ready enough to drive horses, they seem never to have had any great desire to ride them.

Under the XVIIIth Dynasty it cannot be said that the lot of the common folk,  *tchamu*, was as happy and prosperous as it had been in the XIIth Dynasty, for not only had they become liable to forced military service in foreign lands, but the greatly increased expenditure of the court and administration resulted necessarily in greatly increased taxation. Moreover, it is open to considerable doubt if the paid official of Pharaoh was as forbearing or as just towards the people under his charge as the bailiff of the old *ḥā* prince [1] had been.

It has often been said that the period of the XIIth Dynasty was the "Golden Age" of Egypt, but if a nation's greatness is to be gauged by its material

[1] Although the old powers of the *erpā ḥā* princes had lapsed, we see that in the XVIIIth Dynasty this *title* was bestowed upon favourites as a court distinction, e.g., upon Senmut.

wealth and power this title will more justly be applied to the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty, which undoubtedly marks the highest point which Egyptian civilization and power ever reached. The reign of Ámenḥetep III. was the culminating point in Egyptian history, for never again, in spite of the efforts of the Ramessids, did Egypt occupy so exalted a place among the nations of the world as she had in his time. At his death a decline set in, the progress of which was not arrested, either by the energy and ability of Seti I. or by the fictitious glory of his pretentious son Rameses II., who in modern times has been commonly but erroneously called the "Great."

CHAPTER III.

THE TELL EL-'AMARNA TABLETS.

The Tell el-'Amarna Tablets consist of a number of letters, despatches, etc., which were written to Åmen-ḥetep III. and to his son Åmen-ḥetep IV., kings of Egypt in the XVIIIth Dynasty, by kings and governors of certain countries, and districts, and cities, and towns in Western Asia. They are written in a cursive cuneiform character, chiefly in a Semitic dialect—Babylonian[1]—and a few of them contain dockets in the Egyptian hieratic character recording the names of the countries from which they came, and probably the dates when they were received. It would be hard to over-estimate the importance of the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets from a historical point of view, for they supply information of a character which exists in no other body of documents known to us. We learn, moreover, from them not only concerning the relations which existed between the

[1] A peculiar feature in these tablets is the frequent use of glosses, which explain certain Sumerian ideographs both by Babylonian and by Palestinian words. In some cases Babylonian words are explained by their Palestinian equivalents.

kings of the independent countries and the rulers of the vassal states of Western Asia and the kings of Egypt mentioned above, but also concerning certain of the alliances and friendships which had grown up between the early kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who had successfully invaded Syria and Palestine, and the native viceroys whom they appointed to rule over their newly gotten lands on their behalf. They also supply much information concerning offensive and defensive alliances between the kings of Egypt and of other countries, and concerning marriage customs, religious ceremonies, intrigues, etc., and they give us for the first time the names of Artatama, Artashumara, and Tushratta, kings of Mitanni. The philological and geographical information which may be derived from these documents is, in its peculiar way, almost as valuable as the historical facts which they supply, and for this reason summaries of the contents of the principal documents of the "find" are here given.

The Tell el-'Amarna Tablets were found about the end of the year 1887 in a chamber which was situated in the small building that lies to the east of the palace built by Ámen-ḥetep IV. in the city of Khut-Áten, the ruins of which have been called by the Arabs "Tell el-'Amarna." The finder was a woman, who was digging out dust from among the ruins to lay upon her land for "top-dressing," and who handed over her interest in the find to one of her friends for the sum of two shillings (10 piastres). The exact number of the

tablets which were originally deposited in the chamber will never be known, for several were broken accidentally and the pieces destroyed by the Arabs who dug them out of the chamber, and others were broken wilfully by them, either for the purpose of easy carriage on the persons of those who helped to dig them up and were concerned in the secret removal of antiquities from one place to another, or that the number of men who were to have a share in the profit derived from the sale of the tablets might be increased. Moreover, several fragments were lost or destroyed by certain natives who were sent to take them to the antiquity dealers in Cairo.[1] The British Museum acquired about 81 tablets, the Berlin Museum about 160 pieces, some of them being of considerable size, the Museum in Cairo about 60 tablets, and about a score of small tablets and several fragments fell into the hands of private collectors; judging by these figures it appears that the number of tablets which were preserved of the "find" was about three hundred. With the tablets were found a clay seal having two impressions of the prenomen of Ámen-ḥetep IV.; five square alabaster plaques, inlaid with the prenomen and name of Ámen-ḥetep III. in dark blue glazed faïence; a light blue glazed faïence plaque, rounded at the top, and

[1] I obtained these facts in December, 1887, from a gentleman in Egypt who was, I believe, the first European who saw the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets, and who had personal knowledge of the men who bought them from their finder.

inlaid in dark blue faïence characters with the names and titles of Âmen-ḥetep III. and his wife Thi in hieroglyphics; and a red stone jar cover carved to represent a lion and a bull fighting. The contents of the principal tablets of the "find" may be thus summarized:—

1. LETTER FROM AMENOPHIS[1] III. TO KALLIMMA-SIN, or as the name may also be read, Kadashman-Bêl, KING OF KARADUNIYASH. The letter opens with the words, "To Kallimma-Sin, King of Karaduniyash, my brother, "thus saith Amenophis, the Great King, the King of "Egypt, thy brother: 'I am well, may it be well with "thee, with thy government, with thy wives, with thy "children, with thy nobles, with thy horses, and with "thy chariots, and may there be great peace in thy "land; with me may it be well, with my government, "with my wives, with my children, with my nobles, "with my horses, with my chariots, and with my troops, "and may there be great peace in my land.'" Amenophis refers to the refusal of Kallimma-Sin to give him his daughter to wife on the ground that he did not know whether his own sister, whom Amenophis had married, was alive or dead, and tells him to send to the Egyptian court a messenger to see her and the happy conditions under which she lives. Kallimma-Sin

[1] Amenophis is called Nimmuriya, or Immuriya, or Mimmuriya, all of which forms represent the Egyptian prenomen Neb-Maāt-Rā,  .

appears to have done so, but neither the messenger nor any of his colleagues had known the lady personally, and they were therefore unable to identify her. In answer to the remark of Kallimma-Sin that he was accustomed to give his daughters in marriage to "kings of Karaduniyash," and to receive handsome gifts in return, Amenophis says that he will give in return for his daughter richer gifts than any Babylonian could give him, and that he will besides give him a gift on behalf of the sister concerning whom Kallimma-Sin was making inquiries; also that it is useless to refer to the old treaty between the king of Karaduniyash and Thothmes IV., for Amenophis has duly observed it, and fulfilled its conditions. In answer to the complaint made by Babylonian envoys to the court of Egypt both to Kallimma-Sin and to his father, to the effect that they had been ill-treated, Amenophis declares that all such statements are lies, for they had been treated with great respect; the king of Egypt also denies emphatically that he made any complaint whatsoever about the beauty of the woman whom Kallimma-Sin had sent him to wife, and calls the envoys liars. The text at the end of the tablet is incomplete, but the fragments which remain seem to refer to some dispute about chariots and horses, and the Babylonian king seems to accuse the king of Egypt of bad faith. (Brit. Mus.,[1] No. 29,784.)

[1] The numbers here given are those which appear in the British Museum *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, London,

2. Letter from Kallimma-Sin to Amenophis III. After salutations the Babylonian king reports that his maiden daughter, whom Amenophis wished to marry, is now grown up, and he asks the king of Egypt to send him word about her, so that she may be brought to him. He begs that his messenger may not be detained long in Egypt, and complains that his last envoy was kept there for six years, and that when he did return he only brought back 30 manehs of gold (B. 1).[1]

3. Letter from Kallimma-Sin to Amenophis III. In one letter Kallimma-Sin asked the king of Egypt to send him an Egyptian princess to wife, and Amenophis replied, "The daughter of the king of the land of Egypt hath never been given to anybody" (i.e., a nobody). To this Kallimma-Sin replies, "Why not? "Thou art king and canst act as thou pleasest; and if "thou art willing to give her to me, who shall say a "word against it?" In the present letter Kallimma-Sin says that there must be many beautiful women in Egypt, and asks that one of these may be sent to him,

1900, p. 154 ff., and the summaries are based upon those which were drawn up for the official publication, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, 1892, by Dr. Bezold and myself in 1891.

[1] B = Berlin or Bûlâḳ, and the numbers which follow are those given to the texts in the publication of Messrs. Abel and Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, Berlin, 1889, 1890, who included in the official publication of the Berlin Museum copies of the Tell el-'Amarna tablets at Bûlâḳ. Renderings of most of the tablets of the find, with transliterations of the cuneiform texts will be found in Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell el-Amarna*, Berlin, 1896.

for "who here could say that she is not a princess?" He adds, "to increase the closeness of the relations "between us, thou didst write to me of marriage, and "I, in order that we might become more nearly related, "and that there might be brotherhood and friendship "between us, did the same. If thou wilt not send me "a wife I will not send thee one." . . . . "And as "concerning the gold about which I wrote to thee, "saying, 'Send me much gold with thy envoy,' thou "must send it during the season of harvest, either in "the month of Tammuz or that of Ab, and if thou wilt "do this I shall be able to finish the work which I "have begun, and I will give thee my daughter. If "the gold be not sent in one of the months mentioned "I cannot complete the work which I have undertaken; "and if thou sendest it later, when the work which I "have undertaken is ended, of what use will it be to "me? If thou sendest to me 3000 talents of gold "then I shall not accept it, and I will not give thee "my daughter to wife" (B. 3).

4. Letter from Kallimma-Sin to Amenophis III. Kallimma-Sin acknowledges with thanks and hearty greetings the arrival of the lady whom the king of Egypt has sent him to wife, and he announced in return by the hands of Shuth, his envoy, the despatch of couches and thrones made of precious woods and gold, and other valuable objects as gifts for the king of Egypt. On this tablet is an impression of a scarab, on the base of which is inscribed the hawk of Horus

wearing the crowns of the South and North,  , the disk of the sun, ⊙, etc. The scarab must have been made in Egypt, judging by the impression, which shows that the characters were cut accurately upon it, and Kallimma-Sin seems to have had it impressed on this tablet as a compliment to the king of Egypt (Brit. Mus. No. 29,787, and B. 2).

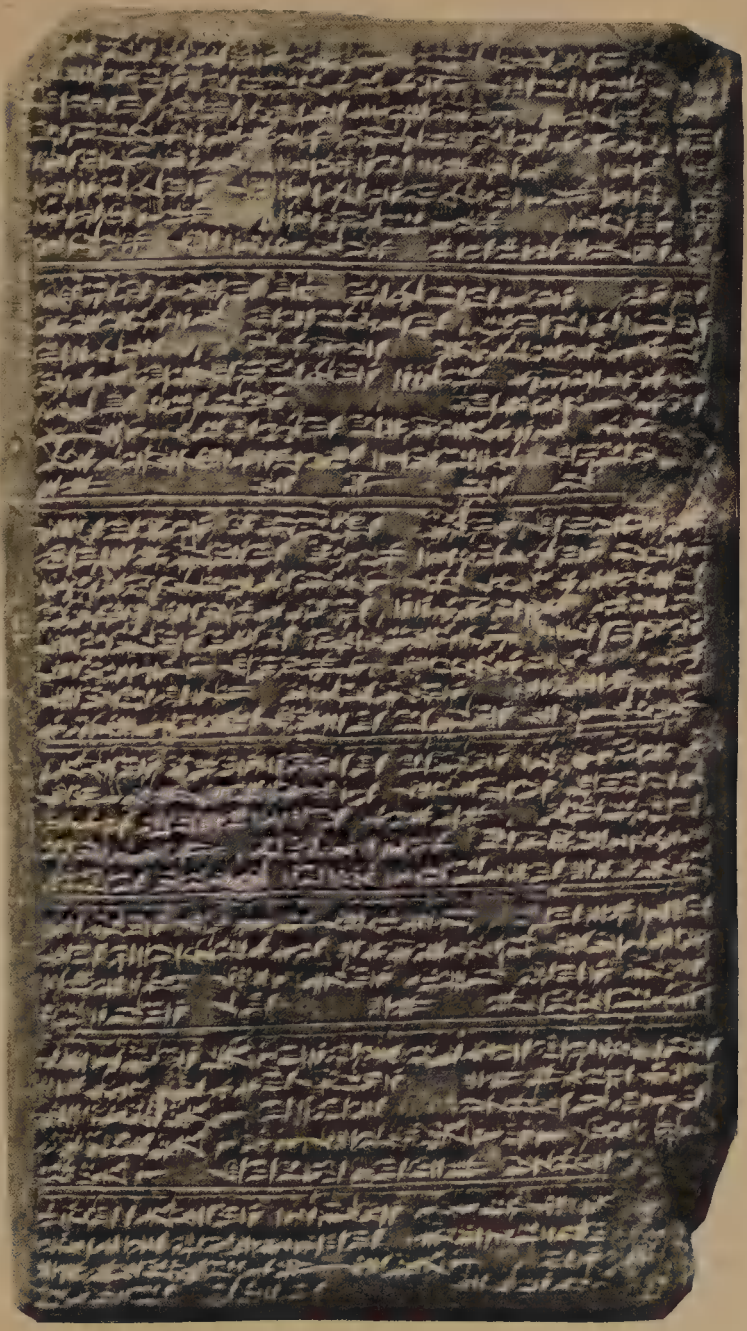
5. Letter from Tushratta, King of Mitanni, to Amenophis III. He mentions the letter which he had sent to Amenophis to inform him that he had killed the murderers of his (i.e., Tushratta's) brother, Artashumara, and that he had slain Pirkhi, who usurped the throne of Mitanni after the death of Shutarna, his father, and refers to the friendly relations which existed between the kings of the countries of Mitanni and Egypt. He next reports that the king of Khatti invaded his land, and that the lord Tishub had given him into his hand, and that he had killed him and his forces to a man. Amenophis III. had married Gilukhipa,[1] a sister of Tushratta, and now Tushratta states that he is sending gifts of chariots and horses to the king of Egypt, and articles of jewellery for his sister; in conclusion he begs that his messengers, Giliya and Tunip-ipri, may be sent back speedily with a gift (Brit. Mus. No. 29,792).

6. Letter from Tushratta to Amenophis III. Tushratta refers to the great friendship which existed

[1] The Egyptian form of the name is  .

between his father Shutarna and Thothmes IV., the father of Amenophis, but says that the friendship which now exists between Amenophis and himself is ten times stronger than that which existed between their fathers, and he hopes that the god Tishub (= Rammanu = Rimmon) of Mitanni and Âmen of Egypt will make their friendship to prosper. Tushratta then mentions that he has allowed the Egyptian envoy Mani to see his daughter, whom Amenophis wishes to marry, and he hopes that she may be as pleasing to Amenophis himself as she was to the envoy, and that the goddess Ishtar of Mitanni and Âmen of Egypt may mould her to please the will of the king of Egypt. Tushratta then asks that a large quantity of gold may be sent to him, and says that he is making ready certain implements and weapons of war and the chase, which his grandfather had promised to send to Amenophis, but omitted to do so; he suggests that the gold which he expects to receive from the king of Egypt be regarded as payment for these objects, and as his daughter's dowry. He asks that the envoy Giliya may be sent back as quickly as possible, and states that he is sending gifts of lapis-lazuli, horses, chariots, precious stones, and thirty women (Brit. Mus. No. 29,791).

7. Letter from Tushratta to Amenophis III. Referring to the arrival of the Egyptian envoy, Mani, whom Amenophis has sent to bring to Egypt another daughter of Tushratta, called Tatum-khipa, to be his

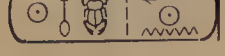


Letter from Tushratta, king of Mitanni, to Åmen-ḥetep III., king of Egypt, about B.C. 1430.

wife, Tushratta says that he is quite willing to send her to Egypt, only that her wedding apparel is not ready yet, and that she cannot start for six months. Meanwhile he sends a messenger of the king of Egypt called Ḥaramashshi back to him with the present letter. It seems that Amenophis had despatched a quantity of gold to Tushratta, who had it examined, and found that it was either not pure gold or not gold at all. This being so he refuses to send his daughter Tatum-khipa to Amenophis, and he asks in the letter which Ḥaramashshi took back to him that the objects which he had already sent him, and which belonged to his father Shutarna, may be returned to Mitanni (B. 22).

8. Letter from Tushratta to Amenophis III. Tushratta announces the despatch of his daughter Tatum-khipa, in company with the Egyptian envoy Mani and the Egyptian interpreter Ḥani, and he prays that Shamash and Ishtar may go before her, and make her a delightful thing in the sight of the king of Egypt, and that she may bring to him both blessing and joy. He sends gifts to Amenophis, which he prays may be safely guarded for one hundred thousand years among the treasures of Amenophis (B. 21).

9. Letter from Burraburiyash, King of Karaduniyash, to Amenophis[1] IV. Burraburiyash writes

[1] In the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets Amenophis IV. is called Napkhurriya, which is intended to be the equivalent of Nefer-kheperu-Rā, i.e., the first portion of the prenomen  , Rā-nefer-kheperu-uā-en-Rā.

to say that he hopes the friendship which existed between Amenophis III. and himself will be continued between himself and Amenophis IV.; whatsoever the king of Egypt wishes for from Karaduniyash shall be sent to him, and he hopes that the king of Egypt will send him anything he may wish to have from Egypt (B. 4).

10. Letter from Burraburiyash to Amenophis IV. Burraburiyash says that because our fathers were friends they sent gifts to each other, and neither refused the request of the other, no matter how costly was the thing which was desired. He complains that Amenophis IV. has sent him only two manehs of gold, and begs that he will send to him as much gold as Amenophis III. sent; but if he cannot do that let him send at least half as much. Burraburiyash is in great need of money because he is building a temple, and he is very anxious to finish the work as soon as possible. In the time of Kurigalzu, the father of Burraburiyash, the Canaanites wrote to him and asked him to join them in making an attack upon the frontiers of Egypt, but Kurigalzu wrote and told them that he would not associate himself with them, and warned them that if they attempted to do an unfriendly act towards the king of Egypt, his "brother," he himself would march against them and plunder them, for the king of Egypt was an ally of his. Now the Assyrians under their king Ashur-uballiṭ, who was a vassal of Burraburiyash, had made their way into Egypt, presumably with the

idea of making an alliance with Amenophis IV., and Burraburiyash having heard these things begs the king of Egypt to have nothing to do with them, just as his father Kurigalzu had nothing to do with the Canaanites. He sends as a gift to Amenophis three manehs of lapis-lazuli, and five chariots with the horses necessary for drawing them (Brit. Mus. No. 29,785).

11. Letter from Burraburiyash to Amenophis IV. Burraburiyash refers to the friendly relations which have existed since the time of his grandfather Kara-indash between the royal houses of Egypt and Karaduniyash, and remarks that, although the friendly relations have been continued down to their own times, and the king of Egypt has sent three missions to his country, yet on no occasion have the Egyptian envoys brought him a gift. Moreover, he complains that the twenty manehs of gold ore which Amenophis IV. sent to him only yielded when melted five manehs of gold. The text contains an allusion to wild oxen and their skins, which Burraburiyash had already sent to Amenophis IV., who seems to have promised to send some chariots in return for them; if the skins already sent were spoiled on the journey, new ones would be sent under the charge of the Egyptian envoy who was to travel back in company with Shindishugab, the envoy of Burraburiyash. A gift of a lapis-lazuli object is sent for the king of Egypt, and also a necklace consisting of 1048 precious stones for the daughter of Amenophis IV., who had married a son of

Burraburiyash, but who was living at her father's court in Egypt. It is interesting to note that an Egyptian princess was allowed to marry a son of a Mesopotamian prince, especially as Amenophis III. had refused to allow his daughter to marry Kallimma-Sin. The name of the Mesopotamian prince has not yet been found (Brit. Mus. No. 29,786).

12. Letter from Burraburiyash to Amenophis IV. Burraburiyash refers to the envoys whom he had sent to Amenophis III., saying that though he was unable to give him the daughter whom the Egyptian king wished to marry, he was prepared to send another; Amenophis sent back an answer, but before the Egyptian envoy could convey it to Burraburiyash, Amenophis died, and the daughter who had been promised him to wife died of the plague. The text is mutilated, but it seems that a Mesopotamian woman was sent to Egypt as a wife for Amenophis IV., only a difficulty arose because a sufficiently imposing escort could not be provided for her. The sister of Burraburiyash was sent to Egypt to become the wife of Amenophis III., and her escort consisted of 3000 men, but Burraburiyash can only manage to find five chariots for the escort. Burraburiyash asks Amenophis IV. to send him certain objects inlaid with floral designs in ivory, and sends as a gift to him and to the "mistress of his house"[1]

[1] The Babylonian words *Bilti bîti* are the exact equivalents of the Egyptian words  , *nebt per*, "lady of the house," by which the wife is always described in the funeral texts.

pieces of lapis-lazuli. The lady's share is only twenty pieces of the stone, and his reason for sending her so little is because she showed Burraburiyash no sympathy when he was in some serious trouble, or affliction, or illness (B. 6).

13. Letter from Burraburiyash to Amenophis IV. Burraburiyash reports that he has been ill, and that his sickness was so sore that he could not entertain the Egyptian envoy, who, in consequence, has neither eaten nor drunk with him; he was very ill and expected to die, and was very angry because Amenophis had not sent him letters of condolence. Eventually he spoke to the Egyptian envoy about it, and he pointed out that the distance between Karaduniyash and Egypt was so great that it was impossible for the king of Egypt to have heard anything about his sickness; when this view was also taken by the envoy of Burraburiyash he was satisfied, and he now writes to say that he will maintain his friendly relations with Amenophis. He reports the despatch to Egypt of the Egyptian envoy, and asks Amenophis to send back the Mesopotamian envoy; as the road is dangerous, and water is scarce, and the heat is great, he only sends a small gift now, but he hopes to send a second messenger to Egypt who will bring many pretty things to Amenophis. The gold which had been sent from Egypt had turned out to be full of alloy, and of inferior quality, and Burraburiyash begs that more may be sent to him, only he hopes that Amenophis will himself

inspect it, and make certain that it really is of the finest quality. Burraburiyash next complains that his envoy Salmu has been twice robbed on his road to Egypt, the first time by Biriamaza, and the second time by Pamaḥu; and inasmuch as the territory in which the robberies tooks place was under the rule of Egypt, he demands that his envoy shall be admitted into the king's presence, and that his loss shall be made good to him by the king of Egypt (B. 7).

14. Letter from Burraburiyash to Amenophis IV. Burraburiyash refers to the treaty of peace which has been concluded between them, and then goes on to report that a number of his merchants, who were journeying with [his envoy] Aḥi-Ṭâbu, tarried for purposes of trade in the city of Kinaḥḥi; after Aḥi-Ṭâbu had gone on his way, Shumadda, the son of Balummi, and Shutatna, the son of Shurâtu, a native of Acco, sent their followers after the merchants, and having overtaken them in the city of Ḥinatôn they killed them and took possession of their goods. Burraburiyash at once sent his envoy to report the matter to the king of Egypt, and he advises Amenophis to question the man about it. He then calls upon Amenophis to make good the value of the property which has been stolen in his country, and to slay the men who slew the merchants, for unless he does so more merchants, and perhaps even government envoys, will be killed, and the trade between the two countries will be destroyed, and the influence of Amenophis

himself in the land will be diminished. Shumadda cut off the feet of one of the subjects of Burraburiyash and kept him with him, and Shutatna having healed another of his wounds kept him as a slave. Burraburiyash sends a gift and begs Amenophis to let his messenger return at once (B. 8).

15. Letter from Ashur-uballiṭ, King of Assyria, to Amenophis IV. Ashur-uballiṭ enumerates the gifts which he is sending to the king of Egypt, and asks him to send back in return a quantity of gold, of which he has great need because he is building a new palace. When his father Ashur-nádin-aḥî sent to Egypt for gold 20 talents of the precious metal were sent to him, and when the king[1] of Ḥanirabbat (or Ḥanigalbat) sent for gold the same amount was sent to him; therefore Ashur-uballiṭ expects 20 talents of gold. In return he is willing to give Amenophis whatsoever he wants. He explains that he did not send back the Egyptian envoys sooner, for had he done so, the Suti would have sent men after them, and they would have been killed to a certainty (B. 9).

16. Letter from Tushratta, King of Mitanni, to Amenophis IV. The writer addresses the king of Egypt as my son-in-law, "whom I love, and who loves me," and sends salutations to Thi, the mother of Amenophis IV., and to his own daughter Tatum-khipa. He refers to the extremely friendly relations which

[1] Probably Tushratta, for Ḥanirabbat was a nome, or part, of Mitanni.

had always existed between himself and Amenophis III., and bids Amenophis IV. ask his mother Thi about them. He then goes on to say that his grandfather, Artatama, was asked for his daughter six times in vain by Thothmes IV., and that he only consented to give her to him on the seventh application; Tushratta's father, Shutarna, was asked for his daughter five times in vain by Amenophis III., and it was only on the sixth application that he consented to give Gilukhipa, Tushratta's sister, to him. Amenophis III. next sent to Tushratta and asked for his daughter Tatum-khipa, and at length she went to Egypt to become a wife of the king; her dowry was paid to the Egyptian envoy Ḥamashshi within three months, and Amenophis was well pleased. He gave gifts to the envoys, but the gift which he sent to Tushratta was a poor one. He, however, promised to send to Tushratta certain gold statues, but they were never sent, for Amenophis died, and Tushratta assures Amenophis IV. that his grief was so sore when he heard the news that he lifted up his voice and wept; when he heard later that Amenophis IV. had succeeded him he was much comforted, for he knew that the friendly relations which existed between Mitanni and Egypt would be maintained. Tushratta next recalls the circumstances under which the promise to give the gold statues was made, and says that Amenophis IV. did on one occasion send statues to him by the hands of Giliya and Mani, but that the

statues were made of *wood*. Relying, however, upon the old friendship, he asks Amenophis IV. to fulfil his father's promise, and to send him the gold statues, for which he now makes a second request. The letter concludes with some remarks about some weapons of war which Tushratta had been meaning to despatch for some time past, but had not done so because Amenophis IV. had not sent the gold which he required, and some allusions to the delay which had occurred in sending back the envoys from Egypt (B. 24).

17. Letter from Tushratta to Thi, Queen of Egypt. After salutations to the queen, and to her son, and to "thy daughter-in-law," [1] Tatum-khipa, he refers to the ancient friendship between the royal houses of Mitanni and Egypt, and reminds her that she knows better than any one else how firm this friendship was. He recalls the message which she had sent to him by the hands of Giliya, the Egyptian envoy, begging him to be a friend to her son Amenophis IV., and asking him to send envoys with peaceful salutations as before. He then mentions her husband's promise to send him statues of gold, and complains that the two statues which her son had actually sent were made of *wood*, and asks Thi to bring the matter

[1] The words *kallati-ka* can have no other meaning, and it would therefore seem as if Tatum-khipa married Amenophis IV. and also Amenophis III., who seems to have died shortly after her arrival in Egypt.

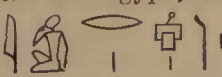
under his notice. He hopes that Thi will send an envoy to his wife Iuni in company with the envoy of Amenophis IV. to himself, and promises that Iuni shall send an envoy in return to her; Tushratta sends Thi a gift of "good oil," etc. (Brit. Mus. No. 29,794).

18. Letter from Tushratta to Amenophis IV. Tushratta acknowledges gratefully the receipt of the gifts which had been sent to him from Egypt, but he complains that the two gold statues which had been made and exhibited to his envoy Giliya had never been sent to him, and that two made of wood were all the statues which he had received. He is quite willing to maintain the old friendly relations with Egypt, but if he does the two statues of gold must be sent to him, in addition to the gold which he needs. He mentions the gifts which he is sending to Amenophis IV. and to the queen-mother Thi, and to Tatum-khipa his sister, and states that he is sending his letter by the hand of the envoy Perizzi; on the tablet is inscribed a hieratic note, which states that it was received in the first month of winter in the twelfth year [of the reign of Amenophis IV.] (B. 23.)

19. Letter from Tushratta to Amenophis IV. Tushratta says that he has once before sent his envoys Perizzi and Bubri to Egypt, and begs that now he is sending them again Amenophis will let them return quickly with gifts from him; if he does, Mani, the Egyptian envoy, shall be sent back to Egypt quickly,

and there is, meanwhile, no need to be anxious about him. (In a private collection.)

20. A group of LETTERS written chiefly by the KING OF ALASHIYA[1] TO THE "KING OF EGYPT." (1) Letter announcing the despatch of 500 [talents of] copper, and saying that more would have been sent but for the fact that the hand of Nergal (i.e., the plague) had slain all the people; silver, oil, etc., are asked for in return. A citizen of Alashiya has died in Egypt, and the writer asks the king to send back his effects; the king is also begged to have nothing to do with the kings of Ḥatti and Shanḥar (Brit. Mus. No. 29,788). (2) Letter announcing the despatch of five talents of copper, and five pairs of horses, and asking for silver in return, as well as the return of the envoys Pashtummi, Kunia, Itilluna, . . . gurumma, Ushbarra, and Bil-râm (Brit. Mus. No. 29,790). (3) Letter announcing the despatch of 100 talents of copper, and asking for certain gifts in return, and suggesting the making of an alliance (Brit. Mus. No. 29,789). (4) Letter disclaiming any connexion with the Lukki who have raided Egyptian territory, and saying that they have also plundered the city of Siḥru in Alashiya (B. 11). (5) Letter asking that the Alashiyan envoy be sent back quickly, and

[1] This country has been identified with Cyprus because copper was exported from it to Egypt; the Egyptian form of the name is Àlesa or Àlusa,  . A group of notes on the country will be found in Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 163.

warning the king of Egypt not to let his officials interfere unduly with the Alashiyan merchants and their ship (B. 12). (6) Letter to Amenophis IV. (?), announcing despatch of 200 talents of copper, and asking for the envoy's return (B. 15). (7) Letter referring to a despatch of copper, and asking for something in exchange (B. 19). (8 and 9) Letters from the chief official of Alashiya to the chief official of Egypt announcing despatch of gifts, and pointing out that as the ship and its goods are royal property they must not be interfered with by the Egyptian officials (B. 13).

21. Letter from Adad-nirari, King of Nuḥashshi,[1] mentioning that his grandfather was appointed governor of the district by Thothmes III.,[2] and reporting that the Ḥatti king is troubling him greatly (B. 30).

22. Three Letters from Abd-Ashratum, Governor of Amurri, reporting his fidelity, and asking for help, and saying that he is trying to keep his hold upon Ṣumur and Ullaza on behalf of the king of Egypt; Abd-Ashratum's chief was called Paḥanati (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,816 and 29,817; B. 97).

23. Letter from the People of Tunip, near Aleppo, referring to the help which Thothmes III. gave their city during his reign, and saying that they feel they are being given over to the enemy; they have

[1] A district in Aleppo.

[2] Manakhbirya =  , Men-kheper-Rā.

asked each year for twenty years, but in vain, that Iadi-Addu [their old governor] might be restored to them. The rebel Aziru has already robbed a caravan of the king of Egypt, and if help be not sent soon Tunip will fall, as the city Nî has already done, into the hands of Aziru, and if he succeeds in capturing Ṣumur all will indeed be lost (Brit. Mus. No. 29,824).

24. Group of eight LETTERS FROM AZIRU TO THE KING, assuring him of his fidelity and submission, and promising to send tribute, and saying that he would have obeyed the orders of Ḥai, the Egyptian general, and come to court with Ḥatib if he had not been prevented from doing so by the raid of the Ḥatti on Nuḥashshi; he would have rebuilt Ṣumur but for the same reason. He denies the accusations made against him, and asks for troops to help him to protect the land on behalf of the king. He describes his fidelity in these words: "To my lord, the king, my god, my "sun; Aziru thy servant. Seven times and seven "times I prostrate myself at the feet of the king, my "lord, my god, my sun" (B. 31, 33, 34, 34a, 36, 37, 38, 40).

25. LETTER FROM THE KING TO AZIRU, complaining of his conduct in respect of Rib-Addu, his brother, the king of Gebal (Byblos). Aziru seems to have declined a bribe from his brother to bring him into his city, and the king hearing of this asks him how he can write to him declaring that he is a loyal servant of his whilst he is committing such an act. Moreover, when Rib-

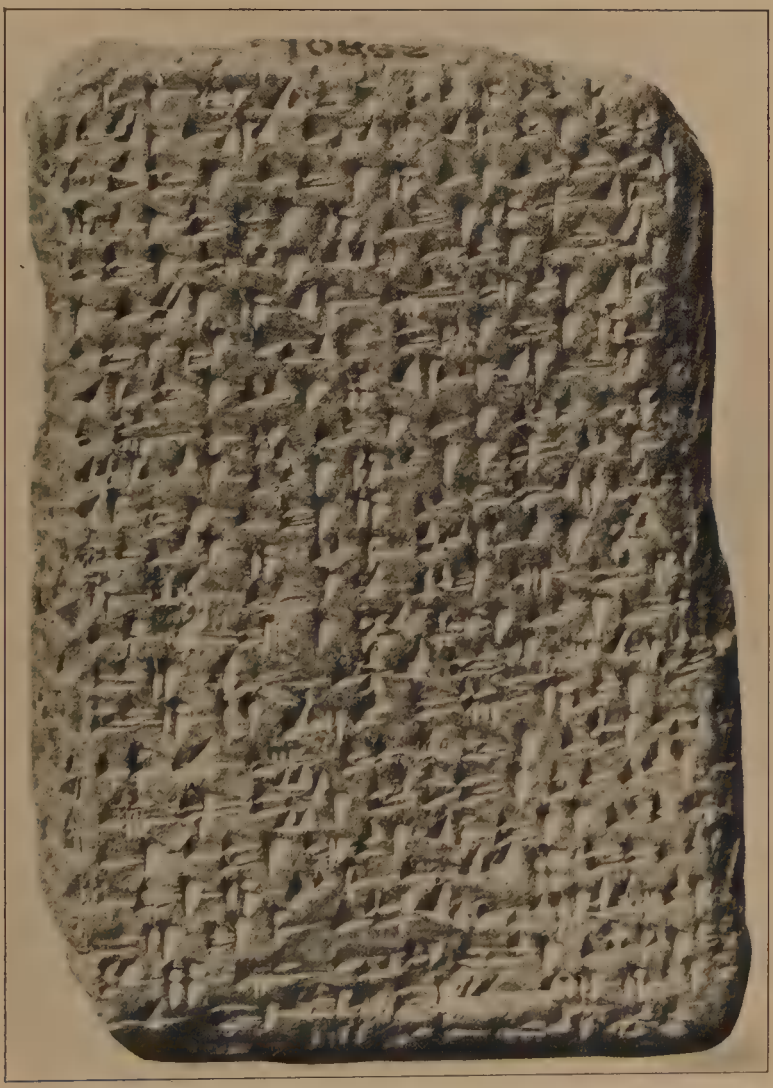
Addu was in Sidon, Aziru did not help him to go to the king in Egypt, but placed him in the hands of the local kings, well knowing how hostile they were; therefore the king thinks that Aziru's words are not true, and in future he will feel compelled to put no faith in any statement he may make. But besides this, it has come to the ears of the king that Aziru has been on terms of friendship with the prince of Kadesh, the enemy of the king, and that he has been supplying him with meat and drink, and the king knows that the report which he has heard is true. It is clear that Aziru cannot in such a case be loyal both to the prince of Kadesh and to the king his lord, and cannot even be studying his own interests by behaving in such a way. At the present time "those whom thou didst try to "burn are consuming thee, and they will destroy both "thee and those whom thou lovest," says the king; "if thou wast loyal to thy lord the king there is "nothing which he could not do for thee." Next the king warns him that unless he becomes loyal to him, and abstains from all foolish hostility he and his family shall surely die, but if he does as the king wishes he shall live, for the king has no desire to waste the country of Kinaḫḫi. Finally the king says words to this effect: You have excused yourself from coming into my presence in Egypt, and have promised to come next year, and you say you have no son with you; very well, I excuse you this year, but if your son comes back send him to see me, by whom all the world liveth.

You wrote to me saying that you wanted me to send my ambassador Ḥanni a second time to you, promising that if I did so you would send me the rebels by his hands. Behold, my ambassador is coming according to your wish, therefore send the rebels to me and let not one of them escape, and that you may the more easily do this, I send you a list of their names, which are as follows: Sharru and his sons, Tuia, Liia and his sons, Yishiari and his sons, the son-in-law of Malia and his sons and his wives. I am very well, I the sun in the heavens, and my chariots and soldiers are exceedingly numerous, and from Upper Egypt even unto Lower Egypt, and from the place where the sun riseth even unto the place where he setteth, the whole country is in good case and content (B. 92).

26. Letter from Aziru to the King in answer to the above. He declares that his enemies have slandered him to the king, and that he is, and always has been, the king's most loyal servant. With reference to the matter of the envoy Ḥani, Aziru was in Tunip when he arrived, and as soon as he heard of his arrival he set out to go to him, but could not overtake him. Aziru's brother, however, gave him cattle, sheep, goats, and meat and drink, and also provided him with horses and asses for his journey. In answer to the king's accusation that he tried to get out of Ḥani's way, Aziru appeals to the sun and to the other gods of Egypt to confirm his statement that he was in Tunip. Aziru says: The king ordered me to build Simyra, but

as the kings of Nuḥashshi are hostile to me, and led by Ḥatib the foe are taking my cities, how can I build it? I will, however, make haste to build it, only the king must know that half of the materials which the king gave me, and all the gold and silver, Ḥatib hath carried off. Of course I did receive the envoy of Ḥatti with due honour, and if the king will only send his envoy I will give to him everything I promised to give. Meanwhile let the king send ships, and chariots, and arms, etc. (Brit. Mus. No. 29,818).

27. Letters from Rib-Adda, king of Gebal, to the King, in which he reports the following facts concerning the revolt in Palestine and Syria, and says: 1. Abd-Ashratum the "dog" has taken possession of Simyra, and the king must send an Egyptian officer to turn him out, and also a number of officials to carry on the business of the king in the city, otherwise he will seize the property of the gods of Egypt. Gebal and Ḥikubta belong to the king. Send back my servant Abd-Ninib, whom I sent with Buḥiya (B. 73). The city of Gebal is, and always has been loyal, but now the Ḥabiri are very powerful. We have had to give up everything to Yarimuta that we might have food to eat; my fields yield no harvest because we cannot sow corn; and all my cities, both those in the mountains and those on the shores, have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri. Abd-Ashratum has seized Shigata, and persuaded the people of Ammiya to kill their lord; and they have done so.



Letter from Rib-Adda to the king of Egypt, reporting the progress of the rebellion under Aziru. British Museum, No. 29,801.

He has now written to Bit-Ninib and told the people thereof to do the same. As for me, I am shut up like a bird in a cage, and I fear that there is none to deliver me. I wrote to the palace of the king, but no attention was paid to my letter; why will you not attend to the affairs of your land? Amanappa the Egyptian official is with you, question him therefore, for he knows how great is the trouble which has come upon me (Brit. Mus. No. 29,795). Abd-Ashratum is trying to take the last two of my cities, and that "dog," having collected a number of the Ḥabiri, has taken Shigata and Ambi, and I have nowhere to flee; Simyra also is in their hands. Send soldiers under an able officer, and regain your former hold upon the land. I beg the king not to neglect this matter (B. 74). Abd-Ashratum has heard that I have reported his dealings to the king, but it has had no effect upon him (B. 50). Since Amanappa's arrival all the Ḥabiri have been against me; the "dog" Abd-Ashratum is still trying to capture my two cities, and the king must send troops here to me, for I am shut up in Gebal like a bird in a cage with nothing to eat. If you cannot send soldiers, then the "dog" will gain possession of your lands (B. 75). Why has not an answer been sent to my application for men and horses? If I were to make friends with Abd-Ashratum, as Yapa-Adda and Zimrida did, I should be delivered. Yankhamu ought to send me food, and you should tell him that you will hold him responsible for my safety. If you will not do this

I must try to escape from the city with the friends whom I have left to me (Brit. Mus. No. 29,797). I am in Bêrût; send me help as fast as you can (B. 84). All the cities except Bêrût have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri, but even now, if you send troops, all will be well (B. 86). Abd-Ashratum is deceiving the people, and the Shirdana and the Suti, saying that he is their lord. I am still shut up in the city, no answers come to my letters, and in two months' time Abd-Ashratum will be master of the whole country (B. 89). I have written to the king and told him several times that the enemy are closing in round the city of Gebal, and the "dog" Abd-Ashratum has captured the city of Bêrût, and is coming against me. Behold, the city of Shuarbi is the gate of Gebal, and as soon as you march out he will depart therefrom; at present I cannot move outside my city. I beg you to hearken to me and send chariots as quickly as possible, and I will endeavour to hold this city until they come. If you will not hearken Gebal must fall, and the whole country as far as Egypt will be in the possession of the Ḥabiri; I am not strong enough to hold this city without help. Although Gebal has always been loyal the envoy of the king of Accho was more honourably received than was mine, and horses were given to him (Brit. Mus. 29,800). I have already told the king that for two years we have had no harvest, and now we have no grain to eat. I beg you to send me grain in ships to keep me and my city alive, and send me

400 men and 30 pairs of horses; let the grain which used to be sent to Simyra be sent to me. The king of Tana went against Simyra and intended to come against Gebal, but he had no water for his troops and therefore had to turn back. If only one king would join me I could drive Abd-Ashratum out of Amurri. Since the time when your father [i.e., Åmen-ḥetep III.] left Sidon, the lands have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri (B. 48). Behold, Tyre is in a state of rebellion, and if you doubt my words ask my brother Yamilki. I sent my possessions to Tyre for safety, but now the Tyrians have slain their general and also my sister and her sons. I sent my sister's daughters to Tyre fearing Abd-Ashirta (B. 49). My messenger has returned from Egypt and brought no soldiers with him, and now my brother, seeing this, will turn against me. I cannot come to Egypt, for I am old, and I am sick, very sick. The gods of Gebal are wroth with me, for I have sinned against them. I have sent a message to you by my son, do hearken unto him and send me soldiers; for on the very day on which soldiers came to Gebal the city would return to him. I am doing my utmost to hold the city, but my brother is stirring up the people to deliver it into the hands of the sons of Abd-Ashratum. Do not, do not forsake the city, for in it there are much gold and silver, and the temples are full of possessions, all of which will be theirs if they take the city. But do as you please in respect of me, only give me Buruzilim to live in; if Gebal falls then

I shall go to Ammunira. Since the sons of Abd-Ashratum are gaining the mastery over me, and no word (literally, breath) comes to me from the mouth of the king, I declare unto my lord that, indeed, Gebal will be their city. In ancient days when the king neglected this city our fathers did not pay tribute to him; do not you neglect it (B. 71). You say, "defend yourself," but how can I do it? You have sent me neither foot nor horse-soldiers; what will become of me? I will defend your city with my life, and do not hearken unto those who slander me; even if there be none to testify to my loyalty you know that it exists all the same (B. 44). The forces of Abd-Ashratum are joining the Ḥabiri and are going to attack me; send troops (B. 59). If you send men and horses from Egypt and Miluḥa at once and with all speed I may live to serve the king again; I have no money to buy horses. If your heart has any care for the city and for my life, send soldiers. You wish that Ḥaia should be taken to Simyra, and I say that he arrived there with his letter in the night time, and I gave 13 manehs of silver, etc., to the Ḥabiri as a gift; I have nothing more to give (B. 57). I sent two messengers to Egypt, but they did not return; they carried a letter from me to you. You complain that I write evil tidings, but if you had paid heed to my words Aziru would have been captured. If I receive no help the Ḥabiri will take the country, and if you will not send me soldiers then instruct Yankhamu and Biḫura to go forth and they can occupy

the country of Amurru in one day. I have a dispute with Yapa-Adda and Ḥatib; send someone to judge between us, and whatsoever shall be taken from them shall be the property of the king. Send soldiers and men from Miluḥa, for I have no means (B. 45). How and with what am I to defend myself and the city? Once there were soldiers here, and Yarimuta sent grain to feed them; now I have neither cattle nor provisions, because Aziru by his raids has carried off everything. Meanwhile the sons of Abd-Ashratum are "dogs," and they do whatsoever they like, and burn the king's cities with fire (Brit. Mus. No. 29,802). Biḥura has committed a shameful deed, the like of which has never been heard of: he hath sent the Suti who have killed the Shirdanu. Send me Abd-irama, Nathan-Adda, and Abd-milki, whom Biḥura sent to Egypt, that they may protect me; the sons of Abd-Ashratum have seized the land (Brit. Mus. No. 29,803). I am in Simyra, send me help as soon as possible, for the people are disaffected and will run away if you do not send me soldiers; Irḳata and Simyra are the only two places left to you in the land, for the sons of Abd-Ashratum have invaded Amurri (B. 77). I have sold my sons, and my daughters, and the wood from my houses for food to Yarimuta, and I have nothing left. The Ḥabiri have killed Aduna, king of Irḳata; the Ḥatti have taken all the *kutí* lands: and the kings of Mitanni and Naḥrina are hostile (B. 79). I repeat what I

have already said, listen to what I say; let Buribita remain in Simyra and keep Ḥaib with you, and make him your inspector. Aziru, the son of Abd-Ashratum, is before Gebal, send therefore soldiers to capture him, for otherwise Simyra cannot hold out (B. 41). Aziru has captured twelve of my men, and demands as ransom 50 manehs of silver; he has captured in the city of Yibuliya the men I sent to Simyra; I am besieged by a fleet of ships from Simyra, Bêrût, and Sidon, and Yapa-Adda and Aziru have captured some of my ships, and they have put to sea to take others. If you cannot help me send me word so that I may know what to do; your enemies are very strong. I beg you to tell Yarimuta to send me food; indeed I am your loyal servant, take heed to me, for I love my lord the king (Brit. Mus. No. 29,796). You tell me to occupy Simyra, but I am not strong enough; and Ambi has now rebelled against me, and the governors of that city and its elders are in league with Abd-Ashratum's sons (Brit. Mus. 29,806). The sons of Abd-Ashratum have seized your horses and chariots. Although people write lies to you about me I am your loyal servant, and what I hear I will write to you. These men are "dogs" and do not fear your soldiers. The messages of other kings are attended to, but mine are not; send me 20 men from Egypt and 20 from Miluḫa (B. 42). Simyra is caught like a bird in a trap. Abd-Ashratum has seized Ullaza (B. 51). Ṣimyra has fallen, and I

could not prevent it, because for five years past the people have been hostile to me (B. 43). Bumabula, the son of Abd-Ashratum, hath forced his way into Ullaza, and the cities of Ardata, Yihliya, Ambi, and Shigata are his; he and his brothers are in league with the king of Mitanni and the king of Kash. In old times you did not hesitate to act if enemies threatened to attack your cities, and now that they have expelled your viceroy and taken his cities why do you remain inactive? (B. 60). Abd-Ashratum's sons are the servants of the kings of Mitanni, and Kash, and Ḥatti (B. 61). We have received some provisions from Yarimuta through the intervention of Paḥamnata, the king's officer; the foe is mighty, do not neglect this city (B. 80). I am not in Bêrût, and if you order me to leave Gebal it will fall into Aziru's hands. I sent my son to you, but for three months he was not allowed to enter your presence. When I am dead my sons will write to you and ask you to bring them back into their city; why do you neglect me? (B. 58). Sidon and Bêrût are not loyal to you, therefore send an officer to occupy them; if the present inhabitants leave the city the Ḥabiri will walk into it (B. 54). You do not attend to what I write; if you neglect your cities the Ḥabiri will take them, for all the governors of cities are favourable to Abd-Ashratum (B. 53). Abd-Ashratum has been troubling me for a long time past, and I wrote to your father [Âmen-ḥetep III.] asking

for troops. Ḥaib has handed over Simyra, and you must not be unmindful of the killing of your viceroy. If you delay in taking action Biḥura cannot remain in Kumidi, and all your chiefs will be killed (Brit. Mus. No. 29,801). My family urge me to join the son of Abd-Ashratum, but I heed them not; I have often written to you, but you do not answer my letters. I went to consult with Ammunira, but the house was closed to me. I await the arrival of your soldiers, and if you do not alter your mind I shall be a dead man. Two men and two women have been given to the rebel (Brit. Mus. No. 29,799). Simyra has fallen, and the people of Gebal who were in it have been killed; send now soldiers and chariots to protect the city, but if these do not arrive during the summer the enemy will take the city and slay me. Biuri, the king's officer, has been killed, and the Egyptian official Paḥamnata will not listen to me. If it be said there is no food here for troops, know that this is the case with every city (Brit. Mus. No. 29,807). Though the king announced the arrival of Iribayashshi, he has not come. If you want to save the city send troops, for when I am dead who will defend the city? (B. 46). I cannot defend the city because you do not keep a garrison here as your fathers did. Paḥura has sent men of the Shuti who have slain the Shirdani—a most shameful act; he also sent three men to Egypt, and since that time the city has been in revolt against

me (B. 47). Formerly the kings of Canaan fled at the sight of the king of Egypt, but now they do not do so, and the sons of Abd-Ashratum are in possession of the country. I am unable to take your envoy into Simyra, for all my cities are in the hands of the enemy, and their princes are my foes (B. 52). You must get what you want from the country of Zaluḫḫi and from the city of Ugariti, for I cannot send my ships there; formerly troops and money were sent here from Egypt, but now nothing comes. Aziru makes war on me, and the other princes help him; their ships sail wherever they please and they obtain everything they want. The men of the Ḫatti are plundering the people of Gebal (B. 76). I have no one to defend me, send ships to bring me and my gods to you (B. 87). Why cannot I send letters to you as other kings do? They are in possession of their cities, and enjoy rest. What have I done to deserve the treatment which Yapa-Adda has meted out to me; two of my ships have been seized, and my possessions carried off, and I ask you to send an officer to get them back for me (B. 63). The city Gebal, your handmaiden, and I your servant, are loyal to you. All the cities are going over to the sons of Abd-Ashratum, and they have revolted against me. Ḫaib is with you, question him, and if it is your good pleasure send soldiers to protect your cities as speedily as you can. I have already written to you in these terms, but have received no answer from you (B. 66). "I have sent my son to my lord the king, my god, my

"sun, let my lord the king, my god, my sun, send "chariots with my son to defend the cities of my lord "the king, my god, my sun. Let my lord the king, my "god, my sun, send chariots to bring me to my lord the "king, my god, my sun, that I may go into the presence "of my lord the king, my god, my sun, and tell him "what I have done. Behold, I am the faithful servant "of my lord the king, my god, [my sun], and behold, I "have sent a messenger into the presence of my lord "the king, my god, my sun" (B. 198).

28. Letters from Rib-Adda to Amanappa, asking him to use his influence at the Egyptian court to secure the despatch of soldiers, and to send him help which would enable him to regain possession of Bêrût, which had fallen into the hands of Abd-Ashratum since Rib-Adda had sent his envoy to Egypt (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,798, 29,804, 29,806, etc.).

29. Letters from Rabimur to the King. Rabimur was the brother of Rib-Adda, and seized the city during his brother's absence in Bêrût. He reports that Aziru has killed Aduna, king of Irḳata, and the king of Ammiya, and has occupied Amki, and is, no doubt, a member of the hostile confederacy which includes the king of Ḥatti and the king of Narima, i.e., Mesopotamia. The king must not believe the accusations which have been made against him, for they are absolutely false, as the Egyptian officials themselves can testify (Brit. Mus. No. 29,828; B. 91).

30. Letter from the people of Irḳata to the

KING, stating that the report made by the Egyptian official who had been sent to their city is false, and that they are loyal subjects of the king of Egypt. They had, it is true, fortified their city, but that was against Shanku, and they were waiting for help from Egypt (Brit. Mus. No. 29,825).

31. LETTERS FROM AMMUNIRA, GOVERNOR OF BÊRÛT, TO THE KING. He promises to do all that the king wishes, expresses his loyalty, and says that he will guard his city on the king's behalf, and will receive Rib-Adda when he comes, and will send forward the king's ships as soon as they arrive at Bérût (Brit. Mus. 29,809, 29,810; B. 211).

32. LETTERS FROM AKIZZI, GOVERNOR OF KAṬNA, TO AMENOPHIS III. (1) Akizzi says that ever since his fathers became the vassals of the king of Egypt his land has been that of the king of Egypt, and that when the Egyptian troops came thereto they were supplied with meat, and drink, and cattle, and sheep, and oil, and honey; but since Kaṭna belongs to Egypt it must be protected by Egyptian troops and chariots, and unless they be sent soon Aziru and the Ḫatti will take the whole district of Nuḫashshi. As it is, Aziru has carried off some of his people, and, worse than that, the king of Ḫatti has carried off the statue of the Sun-god, whose worship the Egyptians had imposed upon the country, on which the Egyptian king had inscribed his name. The people of Akizzi now ask the king of Egypt to send money enough to ransom the

people who have been carried off, and to get back the statue of the Sun-god, in which case they ask the king to inscribe his name upon it, even as did his father (Brit. Mus. No. 29,819). (2) Akizzi reports that he is still alive, and declares that if he receives any letters from the king of Ḥatti he will send them on to Egypt; he goes on to say that Aidagamma is hostile to him, and that Tiuwatti of Lapana and Arzauni of Ruḥizi are in league with him, and that they are wasting the land with fire. On the other hand, the kings of Nuḥashshi, and Zinsar, and Nî, and Kinanat are, like himself, loyal to the king. The king of Egypt can, of course, do as he pleases, but if he will not come himself then let him send troops, and whatsoever gifts he needs from the people they will give him. If Kaṭna is thought anything at all of in the king's mind let him send troops and let them march [at once]. When once Arzauni and Tiuwatti are in the land of Ubi, and Dasha is in the land of Amma, then let the king understand that Ubi no longer belongs to him; these men send daily to Aidagamma and say to him, "Go, conquer all the land of Ubi." As Damascus in the land of Ubi stretcheth out her hand to the feet of the king, even so doth Kaṭna stretch out her hand (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,812, 29,820).

33. Letter from Namyawiza, Governor of Kumidi, to the King of Egypt. Namyawiza reports that he is holding Kumidi for the king, and declares that it is not himself but Biridashwi who has seized

the cities of Innuamma and Ashtarti and has delivered them over to the Ḥabiri; moreover, the king of Buṣruna and the king of Ḥalunni are in league with him. Arṣawaya has occupied Gizza and Shaddu, and he has, moreover, joined in a conspiracy against the king with Aziru and Itakama, and he is also in league with Biridashwi to attack the country of Abitu. In another letter Namyawiza reports to the king concerning the raids which Biridashwi and Bawanamash have made into the royal territory (Brit. Mus. No. 92,826, B. 96,159).

34. Letter from Itakama, Governor of Kadesh, to the King. Itakama reports that Namyawiza has seized certain lands and wasted them with fire, and declares that he is a loyal subject, a fact to which Puḥari will bear testimony; Namyawiza has delivered all the cities belonging to Egypt in the lands of Kadesh and Ubi into the hands of the Ḥabiri, but Itakama is determined to collect all his troops and chariots, and he will march against him and destroy him utterly, and he concludes with the words, "I am a servant of my lord the king for ever" (B. 142).

35. Letter from Zimrida of Sidon to the King. He reports that Sidon is prosperous and that he is ever ready to perform his lord's wishes; but the king must know that all the cities over which he had been appointed have fallen into the hands of the Ḥabiri, and he must have help from the Egyptian general before he can regain possession of them. He wishes the general

to give back the cities to him so that he may be able to serve his lord the king even as his fathers did in former times (B. 90,182).

36. Group of Letters from Abi-milki of Tyre to the King. (1) He says that he is "the dust beneath "the sandals of his lord the king, who is the sun which "riseth over the lands each day." After some remarks as to the joy which he felt on the receipt of the king's words he expresses his devoted loyalty, and says that he is guarding Tyre for the king, and will continue to do so until the Egyptian troops come and give him water to drink and wood to burn to keep him warm. But the king must know that Aziru, the son of Abd-Ashratum, is in league with Zimrida of Sidon. (2) Abi-milki asks for troops to defend Tyre, and then he will go and see the face of the king. Aziru has been doing evil, and certain rebels have betrayed Simyra into his hands, and what is very serious, Zimrida of Sidon hath seized Ulzu. It is known from one of the Sallier Papyri [1] that Tyre was supplied with water by means of boats, and Ulzu was the name in the XVIIIth Dynasty of the place from which it was brought; this place was, no doubt, on the mainland. Abi-milki's position was desperate, for, as he says, he has neither wood, nor water, nor the materials for performing the last offices for the dead. Zimrida is in league with Aziru, and the people of Arvad have collected their ships and have gathered together their soldiers and chariots, meaning

[1] See *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. lvii.

to make an attack upon Tyre by sea and by land. Abi-milki entreats the king to send him a letter so that he may go and see the king, and he states that he is obliged to send this tablet to the king by the hand of a common soldier. (3) Abi-milki entreats the king to send twenty men to protect Tyre, and begs for wood and water, for all his communications with the mainland have been cut off, and since the enemy has blockaded him he has not been able to obtain either wood or water. In answer to the king's demand for information, he reports that the king of Danuna is dead, that his brother has succeeded him, and that the country is peaceful. Half of the city of Ugarit has been burnt with fire, Itakama has captured the city of Kadesh, Aziru has joined Namyawiza, and Zimrida has collected a number of ships; Abi-milki begs earnestly for help. (4) After salutations to the "everlasting Sun-god," i.e., the king, Abi-milki refers to the royal command which ordered him to provide Shalmayâti with corn and water, and reports that this has not been done, and suggests that the king must make his own arrangements for doing this. The king must know that in Tyre there is neither wood, nor water, nor anything which can be eaten. Abi-milki begs the king to defend "Shalmayâti's city," and he reports the arrival of the king of Sidon in a ship, and declares that he (Abi-milki) will depart with his ships from Tyre. (5) Abi-milki reports that he has sent a gift to the king, and asks him to cause the city of Usu, whence he obtained his

water supply, to be restored to him, and to send him food for himself, and ten companies (?) of soldiers to defend the city. The Egyptian general does not seem to be behaving loyally to Abi-milki, for he does not allow him to obtain supplies from the city of Usu on the mainland. The kings of Sidon and Haṣôr have joined themselves to the Ḥabiri, and the king should take back from them the land which they now hold; he can inquire on this matter of his officer who is in Kinaḫḫi. (6) Abi-milki reports that now the Egyptian troops have left Tyre Zimrida will not allow him to go to the mainland for wood and water; he has already slain some of Abi-milki's forces, and the king is entreated earnestly to protect his servant (Brit. Mus. Nos. 28-31, B. 98, 99, 162, 231).

37. Letters from Surata of Accho to the King, reporting his fidelity, and describing himself as "the "servant of the king, the dust of his feet, and the earth "on which he walketh;" he says, "At the feet of my "lord the king, who is the sun in heaven, seven times "and seven times with belly and back I prostrate "myself." And in a verbose fashion he asks, "When "the sun in the heavens speaketh, what king would not "hearken and obey?" (B. 93).

38. Letters from Zatana, king of Accho, to the King, saying that Shuta, an Egyptian official, has ordered him to give up Zirdaiashda, who has taken refuge with him from before the anger of Namyawiza, but since Accho is like Migdol in Egypt, i.e., since

Accho being an Egyptian city is like one of the fortresses on the frontier of Egypt, he thinks that Zirdaiashda must not be given up to his foes (B. 32, 94, 95).

39. Letter from Artamanya, king of Zir-Bashan, to the King, reporting loyalty (B. 132).

40. Letters from Lapaya to the King, explaining how the city was captured by the enemy, and denying the charge of rebellion which has been made against him; he says, "Indeed I am a loyal servant of the "king, I have neither sinned against him nor made "rebellion against him, and I am ready to pay the "taxes which I am bound to pay, and to perform the "commands of my chief. Indeed they have told false-"hoods about me, but let not the king think that I "have been rebellious." It is true that I did go into the city of Gezer, but that was in order to obtain soldiers; and the king may take everything which I have if only he will examine into the reports against me made by Milkili and decide concerning them. I do not know what has happened to Dummuya, or whether he has joined the Ḥabiri or not. Moreover, if the king were to write to me for my wife I would not refuse to send her, and if he were to order me to stab myself with a bronze dagger and die I would certainly do so (B. 112).

41. Letters from Shuardata to the King. (1) Shuardata has taken the city of Kilti, apparently against the wish of the king; Abdi-khiba tried to bribe

the people of Kilti, but failed. On the other hand Abdi-khiba has taken the city of Shuardata, whilst he, i.e., Shuardata, has not taken an ox, or an ass, or a man from him or his city. Lapaya who was in league with Abdi-khiba, and plundered our cities with him, is dead. (2) Shuardata is unable to go to Egypt, apparently because he has no money, moreover, as Yankhamu, the Egyptian official, is in Egypt he can tell the king whether Shuardata has any troops in his city or not. Thirty towns are in league against Shuardata, and his enemies are mighty, and he himself is only one; the king must help him. (3) The city of Kilti has fallen; let the king send troops and then he will be able to besiege the victors and to drive them out from the city (B. 100, 101, 107).

42. Letters from Milkili to the King. (1) Milkili reports the safety of his city, and the despatch of slaves, men and women. The enemy are exceedingly hostile, and he begs the king to rescue the country from the Ḫabiri; the king can verify his statements by appealing to Yankhamu. Milkili went to Egypt to see the king, and probably as a result of the remarks which he made to him concerning Yankhamu this official went to Milkili's city, and carried off a large amount of money from his brother, and demanded that his wife and children should be produced that he might slay them. Milkili prays that the king will send chariots to take him and the oppressor to the presence of the king without delay. In another letter Milkili begs

that troops may be sent, and wishes the king to send him some object as a gift (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,845, 29,846, B. 107-110).

43. Letter from a Royal Lady to the King, reporting that strife has broken out in the land, and that the king's territory has passed into the hands of the Ḥabiri who have plundered Ayaluna (Ajalon) and Ṣarḥa; the two sons of Milkili are mentioned. The lady in her second letter reports that the city of Ṣapuna has been taken by the Ḥabiri (?) (B. 138).

44. Letters from Abdi-khiba, governor of Jerusalem, to the King. The first of these letters opens with a question in which the writer says, "What "[offence] have I committed against my lord the king?" He continues, "Someone has lied concerning me in "saying, 'Abdi-khiba has rebelled against his lord the "king.' Behold, it was not my father and it was not "my mother who stablished me in this position, but it "was the mighty arm of the king himself who made "me master of the lands and possessions of my father. "Why then should I make rebellion against my lord "the king? As the king liveth, they are all lying "concerning me to the king because I said unto my "lord the king's general (i.e., Yankhamu), 'Why dost "thou show favour to the Ḥabiri (i.e., the king's "enemies), and treat with roughness the heads of "tribes of the country?' And because I say also that "[if this policy be followed] the territories of my lord "the king will be laid waste, they speak against me to

"the king. Let my lord the king know that the king "my lord had established an outpost [in this city], but "Yankhamu has removed it." . . . . The king must take heed to his land if he wishes to keep it. The cities of the king of Egypt which were under the rule of Ilu-milki have rebelled, and if this sort of thing continues the whole of the king's possessions in the country will be lost. Abdi-khiba is very anxious to go to Egypt that he may look upon the face of the king, but he cannot leave Jerusalem because his enemies are too mighty for him; if the king will send a company of men to guard the city then he will go to Egypt and look upon the face of the king. He swears by the life of the king that he never ceases to warn every official that the territory of the king is slipping out of his hands, and if the king will not take heed to the warning which he is now sending to him he will soon have no vassal princes left in the land. The king should take heed to his vassal princes, and he should send troops; indeed, already the Ḫabiri have laid waste all the king's lands, and he has nothing left. If the king will only send soldiers in the course of the present year his hold on the land may be maintained, but if he will not do so, then all his possessions will be lost. The last two lines contain this exhortation to the scribe who shall read this letter to the king of Egypt: "Speak clearly, and make the king my lord to under- "stand the following words, 'All the lands of my lord "the king are being destroyed utterly.'"

In his second letter Abdi-khiba begins by reporting some occurrence, but what, the mutilated state of the text prevents us from knowing exactly, and goes on to say that all the kings round about are conspiring against him, and that the king must look after his own land, and the people of Gezer, Ascalon, and Lachish have undertaken to provide their troops with meat and oil, and everything which they may require. All these things are happening through Milkili and the sons of Lapaya, who are bent on handing over the country of the king into the hands of the Ḥabiri. If the king will only send troops this year the princes will remain loyal to Egypt, and the king will keep what is his own; but if they come not there will remain neither loyal princes nor lands to the king. Abdi-khiba repeats, "Behold this country of Jerusalem! Neither "my father nor my mother gave it unto me, but it was "the mighty arm of the king himself who gave it unto "me." Abdi-khiba explains his reasons for treating the Kashi as he did, but if the king has any doubt about the propriety of his acts let him inquire of the Egyptian officials concerning the matter. Adaya revolted, but as soon as the Egyptian officer Paura went up to Jerusalem Adaya made peace with him. Abdi-khiba is unable to ensure a safe conduct for the transport, because the last convoy was robbed on the plain of Ajalon; nevertheless the king has set his name upon the city of Jerusalem for ever, and he cannot therefore leave the country round about it to its fate.

The last two paragraphs are addressed to the royal scribe in Egypt; in the first Abdi-khiba begs him to "speak clearly and make the king my lord to under-"stand these words, 'I am a man in authority under "the king,'" and in the second he appears to beg for the scribe's support in the affair of the Kashi. In his third letter Abdi-khiba says: Behold, the king hath stablished his name from the rising up of the sun even unto the going down of the same. They have told lie upon lie about me. Indeed (or lo!), I am no personage of rank, nay, I am but a humble servant of my lord the king; I am a man in authority under the king, and I bring tribute unto him. It was neither my father nor my mother who stablished me over the lands of my father, but it was the mighty arm of the king my lord himself. When Shûta and the other Egyptian officer came to me I gave each of them slaves and other things as gifts for the king. The kings of all the land between Shiri and Ginti-kirmil have rebelled, and they treat me as a foe. Whilst the king had ships upon the sea the mighty hand of the king was in possession of Naḥrima and Kash, but now the Ḥabiri hold these places, and the king has not one loyal prince left. Turbaṣa was slain at the gate of Zilû, and yet the king does nothing! The servants of Zimrida are doing their utmost to capture and kill him, and still the king does nothing! Yapti-Addu has also been slain at the gate of Zilû, and still the king does nothing. The king must take heed to his land, and send troops, but

if he will not do this he must send one of his officials to rescue Abdi-khiba and his brethren, so that they may die with the king. Finally, the scribe of the king of Egypt is begged to speak clearly these words to the king. In his fourth letter Abdi-khiba reports that Milkili has revolted, and has joined himself to the sons of Lapaya and the sons of Arzawaya, and asks why the king of Egypt has not punished him for so doing. Milkili and his father-in-law Tagi have taken the city of Rubutu, and none of the king's troops are left there. The official Puru is in Gaza, and the king should give him a company of soldiers; Abdi-khiba asks that Yankhamu be sent to look after the king's possessions. In his fifth letter Abdi-khiba reports that Milkili and Shuardata have gathered together the soldiers of Gazri, and Gimti, and Kilti, and have seized the district of Rubutu, which has thereby fallen into the hands of the Ḫabiri, and is thus lost to the king of Egypt. Moreover, a city called Bit-Ninib, which is actually in the country belonging to Jerusalem, has been taken by the Kilti. Let the king hearken to his servant Abdi-khiba and send him troops that he may regain possession of the lands of the king, for unless he does so the whole country will fall into the hands of the Ḫabiri. The other letters of Abdi-khiba contain frequent and earnest requests for help, and report the rebellious acts of Milkili, Tabi, the sons of Lapaya, etc. (B. Nos. 102-106, 149, 174, 199).

45. Letters from Addu-Mihir, assuring the king of his loyalty and fidelity (B. 167, 168).

46. Letters from Tagi, the father-in-law of Milkili. He reports that he is unable to send his letters and gifts to the king because he is now, unfortunately, sick; this fact the king can verify by consulting the Egyptian inspector of the district. He says, "Behold, our eyes are upon thee, for whether we "go up into the heights of heaven, or descend into the "depths of earth our head is still in thy hand." He is very anxious to send the gifts which are due to the king, and he will do his best to do so by the hands of a friend, who is also in the king's service. In his second letter Tagi says, "I look hither and I look thither, "and there is no light whatsoever, but when I look "upon the face of my lord the king there is light." He sends with his protestations of fidelity a gift. In his third letter he reports that someone has plundered his land and carried off men, silver, and sheep, and that now he no longer has any authority over the cities which the king entrusted to him. Tagi sends this letter through Paḫura, and begs that a company of soldiers with horses may be sent (B. Nos. 156, 169; Brit. Mus. No. 29,853).

47. Letters from Biridiya of Megiddo. (1) Reporting that the two sons of Lapaya are giving help to the Ḫabiri, and asking the king to take heed to his possessions. (2) Reporting that he is guarding the city of Makida both by day and by night on behalf of

the king, and that the Ḥabiri are obtaining great power in the country. (3) Reporting some gift made to the king, and complaining of harsh treatment at the hands of the king's enemies. (4) Reporting that as soon as the Egyptian soldiers left the city Lapaya cut off the food supplies and would not allow him (i.e., Biridiya) to go outside the gate. Lapaya is doing his utmost to take the city, and Biridiya entreats the king to send two companies of soldiers to occupy and save it, for if Makida falls Lapaya will certainly cause him to die a horrible death (B. Nos. 111, 113-115).

48. Letter from Wyashdata, reporting that all the possessions which had been entrusted to him by the king have been seized by the people of Tada, and that a raid has been made upon his cattle and many of them were driven off; he also announces that he has made a league with Biridiya, who appears to have been the governor of Megiddo (Brit. Mus. No. 29,842).

49. Letters from Shuardata, the governor of the city. (1) Reporting that all his troops have fled, and that he is left alone; he makes the usual appeal for help, and accompanies it with a gift. (2) Reporting that he has been left alone, and begging for the despatch of a large body of troops to help him out of his difficulties. (3) Reporting that he will perform the command which "my lord the king, the sun-god in heaven," hath sent him. He abases himself seven times in homage to the king, and declares that he is the dust of his feet. (4) Reporting the continued

hostility of the governors round about him, and begging the king to send a body of troops to protect him and his city (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,850, 29,851, 29,852; B. No. 190).

50. Letters from Abdi-Tirshi of Khaṣûr (Hazor). (1) Reporting that he will guard the city of Hazor until the arrival of the king's soldiers, and assuring the king that when his despatch reached him it was just as if the sun had risen upon him; the news that the king is about to come has filled him with joy. (2) Reporting that he is still guarding the city on behalf of the king, whose faithful servant he is, as well as all the towns which are round about; he trusts that the king will keep in remembrance what hath befallen the faithful and loyal city, and also himself, and what he has endured in keeping it (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,830, 29,831).

51. Letters from Yapakhi, Governor of Gezer. (1) Acknowledging the receipt of the king's instructions, which he well understands, and reporting his loyalty and fidelity to the interests of the king. His brother has made a league with the Ḥabiri, and has rebelled against him, and he and they are taking offensive measures against him. (2) Acknowledging the receipt of a further despatch, and saying that his condition has become extremely serious because of the attacks of the Suti people; but if only he could hear a bit of good news from the king his heart would be satisfied (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,832, 29,833).

52. Letters from Widya, Governor of Askelon. (1) He reports to the king that he is defending the city on his behalf, and that he has provided cattle, sheep, honey, oil, and drink for the troops; he expresses his readiness to pay the accustomed tribute. (2) He again reports that he is defending the city according to the instructions which he has received from the "sun in the heavens." The king ordered him to pay as tribute a number of precious stones, and he sends part of them, for he cannot send all as his "lord "the king, the sun in the heavens, the son of the sun, "whom the sun loveth, commanded."[1] (3-6) Further reports, saying that he has furnished supplies to the king's troops, and that he is guarding his city on the king's behalf. (7) Report expressing his loyalty, but saying that he cannot protect the city any longer without help, and begging the king to send the Egyptian officer Rianapa to him (Brit. Mus. No. 29,835, 29,836, 29,837; B. Nos. 118, 119, 121, 122).

53. Letter from Yabitiri, Governor of Gaza and Joppa, expressing his loyalty, and saying that there is no light anywhere for him but with the king, and that though the tile in the pavement may become loose and move away from its place he will never move from his position under the feet of the king. If the

[1] Widya here cleverly applies to the king the titles to which he is accustomed in Egypt, i.e., Sa-Rā,  , "son of the Sun," and Rā-meri,  , "lover of the Sun," or "loved of the Sun."

king has any doubt about this fact let him ask Yankhamu, who took him to Egypt as a young man, and who knows how faithfully he discharged his duties as governor of Gaza and Joppa. He is ready to march with the royal troops wherever they may go, and he says, "The yoke of the king my lord is upon my neck, and I will bear it" (Brit. Mus. No. 29,840).

54. Letters from Dagan-Takala to the King, reporting his loyalty, and saying that even as his father and grandfather were loyal to the king of Egypt so will he be; he begs that he may be rescued from the Ḥabiri and the Suti, who have gained great power in the land (Brit. Mus. No. 29,857; B. No. 129).

55. Letter from Zimrida of Lachish, reporting his loyalty, and saying that he will perform the commands of the king which have been duly brought to him by the Egyptian messenger (B. No. 123).

56. Letter from Yabni-ilu of Lachish, reporting his loyalty, and saying that he will perform the commands of the king which have been duly brought to him by the envoy Maia (B. No. 124).

57. Letter said to have been found at Tell al-Hesi, the supposed site of Lachish, reporting an alliance between Shipti-Addu[1] and Zimrida of Lachish; it is thought to have been captured by the servants of Zimrida of Lachish (Constantinople).

[1] See Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xiii., 1891, pp. 73, 74; *Revue des Religions*, March, 1891; *Journal Asiatique*, 8me série, tom. xvii. pp. 347–349.

58. Among the other writers of letters to Ȧmenḥetep IV. and his officials may be mentioned: Shamu-Adda of Shamḥuna (B. 131), Shubandi (Brit. Mus. Nos. 29,821–29,823, B. 116, 117, 120), Bayaya, Shutarna of Mushiḥuna, Pu-adda of Urza, Mut-Adda, Yama, Addu-dayan, Shipti-Addu, Dashru, Zitriyara, Shatiya, the governor of Gubbu, the governor of Ḳanû, Abi-milki of Shashimi, Amayashi, Yik-tasu, Baduza, Mutzu, Surashar, Hiziri, Rusmana, the prince of Taruna, Zishamini, the prince of Nazuna, Diyati, Tagi, Yaḥzibaya, Yamyuta, the prince of Gadashuna, Subayadi, Inbaruta, etc.

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